



Compliments of

Chauncey H. Dejean

**ADDRESSES AND LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS
ON THE THRESHOLD OF
EIGHTY-TWO**



Yours Truly -
Chauncey M. Depew.

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LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS
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**BY
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW**

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“ Keep A-Goin’ ”

If you strike a thorn or rose,
If it hails or if it snows,
 Keep a-goin’!
'Tain't no use to sit and whine
When the fish ain't on your line,
Bait your hook and keep a-tryin',
 Keep a-goin’!

When the weather kills your crop,
When you tumble from the top,
 Keep a-goin’!
S'pose you're out o' every dime,
Bein' so ain't any crime,
Tell the world you're feelin' prime,
 Keep a-goin’!

When it looks like all is up,
Drain the sweetness from the cup,
 Keep a-goin’!
See the wild birds on the wing,
Hear the bells that sweetly sing,
When you feel like sighin', sing,
 Keep a-goin’!

By permission of the author, Mr. Frank L. Stanton

Speech at the Twenty-third Annual Dinner
of the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in
Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eightieth
Birthday, April 25, 1914.

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the
Montauk Club:*

It is self-evident that these celebrations must find me eighty. That period has arrived and as they reckoned in the ancient times on the twenty-third day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen (this is an incident) and the twenty-third of the annual dinners by the Montauk Club in honor of his birthday (this is important)—Chauncey M. Depew became eighty years of age. The club chronicler will record that he was in all respects in as good condition as on the first of these happy events nearly a quarter of a century ago. There is only one minor note in our joy, and that is the absence of so many who were in that original charming company. But their places have been taken by their sons, and to me the first of these remarkable gatherings is so recreated that I seem to be greeted and welcomed by the same good fellows and cordial friends.

Eighty seems to be universally regarded as a

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sort of almost impossible climateric. In all countries and among all peoples it is an event, and as everybody is hoping to reach the same age, the days of the man of eighty are shortened by everybody anxiously asking, "How did you do it? Give us the combination."

The Psalmist gave distinction to this age by his declaration in the ninetieth psalm, "The days of our age are three score and ten and though men be so strong that they come to four score years, yet is their strength then but labor and sorrow; so soon passeth it away and we are gone." But times were far different when the Psalmist wrote. The sanitation of to-day, the methods for preserving health, the wonderful discoveries in medicine and surgery, the elimination of perils to life and eugenics were then unknown. It is a tribute to their outdoor life that any of them lived to seventy. No one, even with all the knowledge and skill in our day, could hope to reach eighty if he enjoyed all the pleasures of David, nor would we even at seventy be improved by the remedy King David's physicians devised to keep him warm. John Bigelow writing his memoirs at ninety-two was as cheerful, hopeful, charming and inspiring a man as I knew of any age, and for ten years showed no sign that beyond eighty "his strength was but labor and sorrow." Neither did Gladstone, whom I met in the flush of his great victory at eighty-three. The Ger-

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man Ambassador records that Thiers at eighty-four in his discussions with him, which saved France, was the liveliest and ablest Frenchman whom he had met. I found Lord Halsbury, ex-Lord Chancellor of England, one of the most active and interesting of men at eighty-five, and now at eighty-seven he is writing a monumental work, the revision and codification of the laws of England. Lord Palmerston, when Prime Minister at eighty-three, said that the prime of life was seventy-nine, and Sir William Crooks, the scientist, says he has at eighty-one been so absorbed in the marvels of science and its possibilities that age has never occurred to him and he has laid out work which will require fifty years to complete. As an example from the industrial world, I was associated as an Attorney with Commodore Vanderbilt during the later years of his life. He was more alert, wise and efficient at eighty than at any period and the acknowledged leader in the railway enterprises of that time.

A few years ago gray hairs were a fatal handicap to employment. Professor Osler did a good service for the unemployed when he declared that at sixty we should be chloroformed. It led to wide and universal discussion and developed the fact that the best work in every department of human endeavor is done by men over fifty. Our Presidents are vigorous illustrations. Taft was never so active as now.

Colonel Roosevelt is hailed as the most active and resourceful man of our time, and Wilson leads his Party and Congress, with the same obedience from both, as Napoleon had from the Old Guard. Edison told me twenty-odd years ago that he intended to bring grand opera within the reach and enjoyment of the masses in city and country. The cinematograph would put upon the film the moving picture of Melba, Patti or Caruso in action, while the phonograph would at the moment record the voice. He thought he could make the illusion so perfect that there would be no difference in expression, gesture, action and voice between the living presentation at the opera and its mimic reproduction on the village stage. Since that conversation the great wizard has given to the world many inventions of inestimable value, but always working on his original idea, he celebrated his sixty-seventh birthday last month by laboring in his laboratory to perfect this marvel.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the most powerful judicial body in the world. Its Judges were never worked so hard nor more efficient than now. Chief Justice White is brilliantly meeting the responsibilities and performing the duties of his great office at sixty-seven, and the Associate Justices illustrate the value of maturity with wisdom, discretion and fearless patience.

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The seven wonders of the world which engrossed the admiration of the ancients, and the seven wonders of the Renaissance period seem trivial compared with the achievements of the period in which it has been my privilege to live and work. I was thirteen years old when the Hudson River Railroad completed its first forty miles from New York to Peekskill. I remember as if it were yesterday the great crowds from fifty miles around, the wild excitement of the people as the train rolled into the station grounds and the shouts and screams as the whistle blew, while drivers could not control their horses. In describing the scene at a dinner in Europe last summer, I said that the last seen or heard of a prosperous farmer whose blooded team bolted when the whistle of the locomotive blew was his hair flying in the wind as his horses were running away over the hill, and they doubtless were running still. "That is impossible, sir," said a grave banker. "That happened sixty-six years ago." That forty-four miles of railroad has expanded into a system of twenty thousand, and that boy became and was for thirteen years its President. It was one of the first of the network of rails which ties the West, the Northwest and the Pacific to New York, and which have developed the wilderness into populous and prosperous communities and made the City of New York the metropolis of the western hemisphere and a

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financial and industrial center second to none in the world.

We have become so familiar with the telephone and it has become such a necessity in our family, social and business life, that we seem always to have had it, but Graham Bell's invention was made only thirty-seven years ago, and the phonograph was revealed to the world by Edison one year later in 1877. Roentgen discovered the X-rays in 1895, only seventeen years ago, and their use in surgery has been one of the blessings of the age. It is only recently that we have photographs of daring operators, who are encountering perils unknown to the hunter or explorer, in revealing to the world wild beasts at rest and in attack, volcanoes in eruption, and shells exploding on battlefields with the photographer on the firing line. It is reported that Villa is accompanied by a cinematograph operator with whom he is in partnership, and that the charge may be halted with men dropping dead or wounded all about if the films need adjustment. It is only within ten years that Marconi has perfected the most beneficent invention of all time—the wireless telegraph. Within the same short period radium has revolutionized science, and added incalculable resources to the equipment of the physician in combating diseases which have heretofore baffled his skill. Dr. Carrel, within the year, at the Rockefeller Institute by

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demonstrating that tissues can be kept alive almost indefinitely and successfully grafted, has proved that there is certainty in the speculations of the possibility of prolonging life. In February of this year President Wilson pressed the button of the electric wire which blew up the Gamboa dam and united the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The aspirations of Columbus had been attained, the dream of Charles the Fifth of Spain realized, but not under the Spanish flag. In the month of February four hundred and ninety years before, Balboa saw the Pacific from the heights of Darien. He descended to the shore, and wading into the sea raised his sword, proclaiming that the Pacific ocean and all lands adjoining were annexed to Spain. Eight years after, Magellan found and added to the crown of Spain the Philippine Islands. Now, this achievement of the greatest of enterprises by a new people with institutions and liberties which Charles the Fifth and his successors fought for five hundred years, and with a world power and prestige far surpassing that of this mighty monarch, and that same people governing and preparing the Philippines for self-government, makes us reverently repeat what Morse said on the success of the telegraph, "What God hath wrought."

Times have greatly changed during my recollections of seventy and intense activities

of sixty years. We are not happier, but have more opportunities for happiness. Unrest has kept pace with progress. The atmosphere of the village in those earlier days was ideal. There were no very rich or very poor. Church-going was universal and there was a genuine Christian democracy. There was much more admiration than envy of the prosperous. Most of the families had lived in the village for generations and knowledge of family origin and history was destructive of snobbery. The reproductions of family traits in children and grandchildren cultivated respect for heredity, and the bracing influence of honest and enterprising ancestors was recognized. One hundred thousand dollars was the limit of the hopes of the most successful. There was neither complaint nor discussion of the high cost of living, for there was no high living. The Lyceum lecture brought to appreciative audiences the best writers and thinkers. While I was a youth on the lecture committee, we had Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. Storrs, Dr. Chapin, Wendell Phillips and nearly every famous writer and orator in the country. Literary and dramatic societies flourished among the young people, and an excellent circulating library was universally patronized. There was little reading or interest on sociological questions, and the subject of sex was not permitted

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in literature or conversation. But the classic authors of the Elizabethan and Queen Anne periods, now unknown to the general reader, were eagerly devoured. Sir Walter Scott, Fenimore Cooper and Hawthorne were favorites, while the oncoming volumes of Dickens and Thackeray were eagerly welcomed. The girls could not tango or turkey trot, but were graceful in square dances and the waltz, and in the intervals on the piazza, the staircase or the conservatory were equally charming to the college graduate or the village swain. They were experts as well in the art of the cook, the skill of the dressmaker and the milliner, and the economies which get much out of little in comfort and show in the early struggling and rising days of the young married professional or business man. When he had won his way as so many did, she was equal to the responsibilities of the wife of the statesman or millionaire, and her husband gratefully acknowledged the large measure of his success which was due to his wife.

Samuel Woodworth's famous song,

“The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket which hangs in the
well,”

was true then in poetry and fact. It was common all over Westchester County. Its cool

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waters had refreshed Washington and Rochambeau as well as the British soldiers. Its vitalizing properties have carried to vigorous old age multitudes of men and women.

Driving home after a hot day in Court, I have often jumped over a farmer's fence, swung the long pole, dipped the old bucket into the well, drew it out and drank from the brim. I have never since had a draught of any fluid of any kind from anywhere so good and refreshing. Now both well and bucket are condemned by the Board of Health, and the bucket is found only in the museum with this label on, "An antique microbe breeder."

I heard Dickens lecture, or rather recite his novels. The characters were as living realities and as close friends of mine as the members of my family. Dickens had rare talents both as a speaker and actor. Micawber, Captain Cuttle, Dick Sawyer, you saw all in his inimitable impersonations. I had for my companion a young lady, a leader of the fashionable set. "How did you like it?" I said, entranced and delighted. "Oh," she remarked coldly, "such common people are not in my set, and I never expect to meet them." Three husbands, a scandal and a divorce were her contributions to a novel of society. When a dinner was given to Dickens at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Horace Greeley presided. As he rose to toast the guest, he was the personification of Pickwick,

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and the crowd, including Dickens, shouted with joy. I heard Thackeray deliver his lectures—The Four Georges. His big head and massive figure were very impressive. To hear him was an intellectual treat, and at the clubs he became one of the most popular of visitors. He wanted to do everything Americans did, and when his host had a plate of saddle rock oysters each as large as his hand put before him, Thackeray asked, "What am I to do with these?" "Swallow them whole in our way," said his host. Thackeray closed his eyes, and when the bivalve disappeared, remarked, "I feel as if I had swallowed a baby."

One remarkable change in popular opinion since fifty or sixty years ago is the attitude toward rich men. The first State Convention I attended as a delegate was in 1858. Edwin D. Morgan was nominated for Governor, because he was the wealthiest merchant in New York. It was considered most commendable that he was willing to devote to the service of the public the talents which had made him successful in business, and he was triumphantly elected. There were few millionaires. They were well known and could be enumerated on the fingers on one hand. Then they were public-spirited citizens, now they are malefactors of great wealth. Then the people wanted railroads and the building of railroads was a hazardous speculation. They wanted more

and finer steamboats. They wanted factories in their towns and offered every inducement to secure them. They wanted water powers improved and natural resources developed. They were totally unwilling to tax themselves for these objects, but vigorously applauded the men of wealth and enterprise who were willing to take the risks. Many failed and lost everything. Success was an illustration of the survival of the fittest. They were held to be entitled to their wealth and became popular idols.

There has been no greater change in this half century than in the attitude of government to business. Business is the methods by which the individual alone or in combination with others secures the means for the support of himself and his family, provides for his old age and its infirmities, and accumulates the property which will care for those dependent upon him when he is incapacitated or dies. According as he is gifted in the use of the money he makes, he adds in various degrees wealth to independence. Every step of his advance requires help of more people and adds to the amount of employment available for their support of other members of the community. That there were limitless opportunities for the individual has been the pride of our people. Our institutions were founded on the individual and the genius of our government was to give him liberty and encouragement. He organized and

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engineered the peopling and development of new territories and developed them into sovereign States of the American Union. He carried with him the church and the schoolhouse. Under his inspiration the units of the State, its counties and its towns became miniature commonwealths, ruled in their smaller dimensions by the town meeting and the more populous by representative government. All admit that this process has made the United States the most powerful, the freest, the happiest and the most prosperous nation the world has ever known. Now there is acute antagonism by the government to business. The calendars of the courts are crowded with suits under existing laws and the calendars of Congress and of the States Legislatures with bills for new laws against business. The assembling of legislative bodies is viewed with alarm, and the declaration of the President of the United States, in his recent message, that he would be "kind to business," was hailed as a declaration of emancipation.

The highly organized industrial nations are engaged in the fiercest rivalry in their competition for the world's markets. This vast interchange has risen in value and volume from less than ten thousand millions of dollars fifty years ago to twenty-five thousand millions ten years ago, and thirty-five thousand millions last year. Our mercantile marine fifty years ago

had sixty-six per cent. of the tonnage of the ocean, and now in overseas or foreign freight trade it has less than nine per cent.

Germany has increased her navy and mercantile marine by leaps and bounds to add to her foreign commerce and give employment to her people at home. The government through special rates on its State-owned railways, its subsidies and other favors, is practically a partner in its industrial development and exploitation. Great Britain and France are active rivals. They encourage big business at home and its exportation abroad, and the commanders of their ships and their diplomatic and consular representatives are eager agents for the sale of the products of their factories and the penetration of their merchants with their merchandise into every competitive market in the world. The attitude of our government may not be hostile to American citizens and enterprises in other lands, but it is not cordial. The doctrine of *caveat emptor*, or in other words at their own risk, is in the position of Americans who are thus courageous and enterprising, and some of us think also patriotic. But this will not last. Theories yield to necessities. A congested population finding the home market insufficient for the consumption of the products of its industries, will invade other continents and force our government to respond to the needs of American enterprise.

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The exemption of our coastwise shipping from tolls on the Panama Canal was made under the pretext of a right which is denied by the statesmen and diplomats who made the treaty and most of our ablest lawyers who have studied it. The demand of the President for a repeal of the exemption is statesmanlike and courageous. But the repeal was really a surrender by indirection to that governmental assistance by subsidy to our mercantile marine, which, if scientifically pursued, will once more put our flag on the seas and give us our place among mercantile nations. This conversion to old-fashioned protection and subsidy under other names is of the Billy Sunday rather than the orthodox variety. It may not last, but it is progress and enlightenment. Its more recent manifestations of twisting the tail of the British Lion and fighting over again the battles of Bunker Hill, Saratoga and Yorktown is the sugar-coating to the pill—the results are the same. When subsidy is denounced as a vice, but under another name is a virtue which wins votes, Pope's famous lines occur to me:

“Vice is a monster of such frightful mien
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft—familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

The statesmen who are using destructive, in-

stead of constructive methods toward business are able and patriotic men. But few of them have ever been in touch with affairs or have any practical knowledge of the vast and complicated machinery which moves and controls modern credit, finance and industry. The two most used and abused words in the language are "efficiency" and "privilege." The efficiency expert says to the harassed railway's official or manufacturer, "You do not require relief from intolerable burdens. If you understood your business, you would carry them with ease and profit." In other words, speed up labor, and this the efficiency fraud knows that labor unions very properly will not permit employers, especially corporations, to do. Though laws are equal and all have the same chance, yet in our new vocabulary prosperity becomes "privilege" and dangerous to the public welfare.

Secretary Lamar, of the Cabinet of Mr. Cleveland, made a speech at a famous dinner in New York. The speeches were long and serious. I came on last, and to relieve the situation, indulged in some fun at the expense of those who had preceded me, including Mr. Lamar. He was much worried for fear my forced construction would be taken seriously and complained that a Cabinet Minister speaks for his Administration and for the time is the mouthpiece of his President. Mr. Cleveland enforced this view and told me that one of his

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Cabinet, who was to orate on a patriotic occasion in the South, submitted to him the manuscript in advance. The President said to him: "It is all right, but will take three hours, and no New York audience would stand that." To which the Minister answered, "In South Carolina an audience wants five hours and insists on three."

That rule of the responsibility of the Cabinet was in force long before Mr. Cleveland, but does not prevail with the New Freedom. The Postmaster-General advocates the taking over by the government of the telegraphs and the telephones. Since this was done in England, the telephone service has become so bad that churches complain of the increase of profanity, and in Paris the service is so impossible that they are in despair of the Republic. The deficiencies in operations in both countries are so great that they embarrass the finance ministers and the squeeze draws another groan of anguish from the taxpayers. It is a step in centralization which makes Jefferson a myth and Hamilton the guide of our policies. It is not believed that the President is in sympathy with this far-reaching scheme, but its advocacy from such a source adds to uncertainty, and uncertainty is the mother of unrest.

The newspapers reported the Secretary of Labor as presenting in a speech a new doctrine on property. It was in effect that a man's or

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a woman's title to property depends upon the will of the community. If the neighbors do not think the owner makes a use of it which a majority approves, they will vote it away. Attach to this doctrine the progressive idea of the recall of Judges and decisions and the situation is both novel and entertaining. The crowd votes that the unpopular man shall be deprived of his home. He appeals to the courts, which would decide a man cannot be deprived of his property without due compensation. The same crowd which voted to take the poor fellow's house or farm vote to recall the decision, and it then becomes law. Every expression and action of the President is against any such doctrine. But it gives a boost to uncertainty and more nerves to unrest.

I was always fond of the theatre, and the clown at the circus is still a delight. I have never seen the equals of the early comedians, like John Brougham and Joseph Jefferson. The plays which Wallack presented were clean, healthy and virile and admirably acted. Daly opened a new vista of entertainment in his society dramas, with the young actors whom he trained and who did such credit to their teacher. It would not be possible to find enough people who could have such loyalty to their favorite and hostility to his rival as those who created the riot in Astor Place over the merits of Forest or Macready. I doubt if the

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stage ever presented such perfection in the art as Edwin Booth in Richelieu or Hamlet. The assassination of President Lincoln by his brother, Wilkes Booth, drove Edwin into retirement for some years. We formed a strong committee to bring him back. The theatre was so ticketed that trouble was impossible and his genius made the house wild with enthusiasm. The press took it up, and after that he had no trouble. Mrs. Astor, the acknowledged leader of society, a very brilliant woman, gave a large dinner to Booth for help and welcome. At the dinner occurred a startling example of the things better left unsaid. The conversation ran upon when it was best for his reputation for an eminent man to die. Illustrations were given of men who lost their reputations by living too long. A diplomat present said, "The most distinguished example of a man dying at the right time was Lincoln. If he had lived out his term, he would have become most unpopular." Booth nearly fainted and only the tact of the hostess in quickly changing the subject saved the situation. Dramas to illustrate sex problems or the white slave traffic would neither have been permitted nor submitted to by any audience. The "Black Crook" at Niblo's was the first of the "leg dramas," and for a long time only men attended. The moving pictures have their merits, but nothing we now possess equals the

pleasure which Barnum gave. I came as a boy from my home at Peekskill to see at his museum, which was at the corner of Ann Street and Broadway, the Pawnee and Sioux chiefs whom he had secured after a massacre that had shocked the whole country. Nobody could imagine how he got them and no one doubted that he had them. Their war dance was blood-curdling and their yells hair-raising. In the fury of their play they were kept from rushing among and scalping the audience only by a guard of soldiers. I was so entranced and absorbed that I lingered long after the audience had departed. That August day was insufferably hot. The Indians were in buffalo robes, feathers and paint. I was restored to consciousness when the Pawnee chief said to the Sioux chief, in the richest brogue, "Mike, do ye mind, if it gets any hotter I'll melt sure." An Englishman of high rank came with letters to me, and to my question whom he would like to meet, answered, "Barnum, the great and only Barnum." I told Barnum, who said, "An English gentleman knows how to meet an American gentleman." My friend was delighted, had Barnum to dinner, and this wonderful showman was at his best explaining his methods. "But," said his host, "you will be found out and your career closed." "Never," said Barnum; "fools are born every second and they love to be fooled."

One of the principal sources of healthy

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longevity and the pleasure of living is a sense of humor and keen enjoyment of it. People who laugh easily and often never have appendicitis. American humor and its cultivation were accelerated during the administration of President Lincoln. No President ever had presented to him so many and such vexing problems or from men so important and difficult. He rarely argued, but illustrated his position and confused his questioner by an apt story admirably told. He told me eleven of them to show how each story had confounded his questioner or critic and ended the discussion. These anecdotes spread through Washington and all over the country, and we became a nation of story-tellers. When I was Secretary of State and living in Albany fifty years ago, Artemus Ward, whose fame as a humorist was world-wide, came there to lecture. The audience was made up of the bluest blood of the old colonial Dutch aristocracy. They did not crack a smile until the evening was half over, when Ward came to the front of the platform, and looking whimsically over the crowd for five minutes without a word, finally said, "That last remark of mine was a joke." The Vans after this laughed immoderately at everything. The next night Artemus Ward was at Troy. The Trojans had heard of the Albany density, and to show that they knew a joke when they saw it, and that they saw it at once,

they began to laugh when the lecturer began and soon were in violent hysterics whether Ward was speaking or looking at them. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mark Twain, Bret Harte and an innumerable company have contributed to the happiness of the people and the gayety of nations. The increasing intensity of our lives, the craze for money, and the craze for new and bizarre amusements among those who have money have limited conversation to the stock market, the shop and the affairs of society. I fear it is rapidly destroying American humor. The venerable witticisms of the camp among the Philippine veterans who had formed the Caraboa society delighted Roosevelt while President, and Taft's laughter made the country join. But after the recent rehearsal, the most distinguished officers of the Army and Navy were reprimanded and only saved from court martial by the protest of the people. Within a few weeks the American Ambassador to Great Britain ventured in an after-dinner speech to follow Lowell and Phelps, Lincoln and Hay, Choate and Reid in those pleasantries which add to the interest of the occasion and contribute to international peace and good fellowship. But the United States Senate called him down with unusual unanimity and one Senator solemnly declared that a joke or humor in an after-dinner speech was an unpardonable offence. The Gridiron Club of

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Washington has always been privileged to put officials from the President down upon its grill, and the victims have enjoyed the roast. But it is reported that the fun at the last entertainment of these merry gentlemen was indignantly resented as coarse, personal and abusive. As Lincoln's stories made us a nation of jokers and story-tellers, possibly these stern rebukes from the highest official authorities may make us a nation of bores. Let us hope not.

I have found the best insurance policy is the ability to say no. Many of my friends have died before their time, because they could not resist the appetites which destroyed them. Abstinence is hard at first, requires will power and self-denial, but abstinence soon conquers desire. Ever after is the joy of victory and confidence in that mainspring of life—the will. Horace Greeley once said to me after the payment of notes he had endorsed had swept away years of savings, "Chauncey, I want you to have a law passed making it a felony, punishable with life imprisonment, for a man to put his name on the back of another man's paper." As I lament about one quarter of my earnings gone that way because of my inability to say no, and without any benefit to my friends, I sympathize with Mr. Greeley.

It seems to me that the agnostic and the iconoclast lose much of the restfulness, content and satisfaction which come from faith. Bet-

ter be often deceived than lose faith in friends. Faith in our church or political party grows by work. The Richmond colored preacher said, "My brethren and sisters, faith can move mountains, but whar's de faith?" It is behind the strength which is constantly moving mountains of difficulty, troubles and worry.

I have tried, or known others who have tried, allopathy, homeopathy, osteopathy, Christian science, faith cures, Swedish exercise, massage, famous healing springs, Turkish baths, chasing climates and other famed preventives and cures for relief from ills, or to prevent their recurrence or preserve long and healthy life. All have merits. But mind governs matter and to laugh with our friends, to contribute to their cheerfulness, to find out and enjoy the inexhaustible good fellowship which can be found in everybody, have done more than all else to keep me healthy and happy. The fated four-score years have gone by. The past has had its full share of accidents, mistakes, errors, misfortune and hard luck, but its compensations are so many and so great, that each knockdown seems in the retrospect just the punishment and discipline needed to learn the lesson for a fruitful life and the enjoyment of its blessings.

Speech at the Twenty-fourth Annual Dinner
of the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in
Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-first
Birthday, May 1, 1915.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

For nearly a quarter of a century you have honored me by an annual celebration of my birthday. Each anniversary has had in the year since the preceding one much of interest, National and State, and in politics, in social evolution, in rapidly changing or crystallizing theories of life and government. But if these anniversaries ran back to the dawn of history there would be found no year like that through which we are passing, and if we could look forward through eternity it is not possible there should ever be such another.

The forecasts of statesmen are failures. The laudable and apparently successful efforts of the advocates of peace have become suddenly a ghastly farce. The higher ideals of Nations have been submerged in racial enmities and trade rivalries. Organized Christianity is questioned as to the results of two thousand years' teaching, while millions of Christians are killing each other, and all the combatants calling upon God to help their just and righteous cause. Other millions of women and children rear rude

shelters out of the ruins of their once happy homes and only relief supplies from neutral nations are saving them from starvation. But they are enduring sufferings and death with martyr spirit which would not recall, if it was possible, the bread-winner fathers, sons and husbands fighting in the field. The agreements of the Hague Tribunal solemnly ratified by the contracting governments are shelved for the curiosity of the future historian. The warring powers repudiate these compacts, and neutral nations dare not protest, because protest means action and action means war. The Hague Peace Palace is to let.

There never were preparations for war of such vast magnitude in order to preserve peace, and the perfection of the preparations made war inevitable. The irony of the situation is that the line is invisible between the size of armies and navies necessary for the national defence and militarism which provokes war.

After exhaustion has brought the belligerents on one side to seek terms of surrender, in the wisdom of that settlement will be either the seeds of another and more sanguinary war, or a peace which so saves the pride and dignity of the vanquished that the peace of the world may be assured for all the future. Recent history furnishes two wonderful examples. After the Franco-Prussian war victory was followed by vengeance. France was impoverished by an

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indemnity so large that it was expected to pauperize her people for ever and despoiled of her fairest provinces. Hate and revenge grew with the unexpected and marvelous recovery and prosperity of France, and her sons inheriting the feelings of their fathers are cheerfully and enthusiastically battling to right the wrongs of 1870. In nations as with individuals, the spoiler waxes strong, arrogant and reckless. The spoiled nurses his wounds and bides his time. The second example is our Civil War, North and South, each believing they were right, battled as our race will until by force of superior numbers, wealth and equipment, the Union won and the Confederates were exhausted. Here in civil strife, with its passion and vindictiveness, were the possibilities of endless revolts and revolutions. But the rebel States were welcomed back into the Union with the same rights, powers and liberties under a common Constitution as the loyal States. The only exaction was the abolition of slavery which had been the cause of the war. Union and Confederate veterans fight over their battles in memory only at happy re-unions, and their children, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West, are proud citizens of the United States. For the second time in half a century since the close of the Civil War, the South and its economic theories are in absolute control of the government. With militarism eliminated and

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peace preserved by an international police on land and sea, the greatest of wars may prove for mankind the most marvelous of blessings.

This year is remarkable for its centennaries. One hundred years ago Napoleon was crushed at Waterloo by the timely arrival of the Prussian army under Blucher to the assistance of the English under Wellington. Now the French are saved from annihilation by the cordial support of the whole naval and military power of the British Empire. We take too little into account in estimating the causes of the alignment of nations at one period in alliance, at another in hostility, of the changing ideals which govern the minds and action of peoples. One hundred years ago Bismarck was born. It is astonishing how few men there are in recorded history whose genius and constructive ability have influenced the world in all succeeding centuries. Cæsar kept Rome alive for four hundred years and until Roman law had become the ground work of the jurisprudence of all modern nations. Washington won the independence of his country, and then as President of the Convention which framed the Constitution, by his influence in securing its adoption by the States and his wisdom in the inauguration and practical working of the new government, created and placed upon enduring foundations the Republic of the United States. It is an axiom that the influence of these institu-

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tions have been world wide. Napoleon represented the military energies of the French Revolution. The greatest soldier of the ages, he shattered the faith of Europe in the Divine Right of Kings and placing manikins upon the emptied thrones dissipated by the sunlight of publicity the ideas of royal anointment from Heaven. Bismarck by his diplomacy and his victorious policy of blood and iron, organized military autocracy as the dominating power of the twentieth century and apparently checked and rendered helpless the fast penetrating liberal ideas of the French Revolution. But these ideas made France a Republic, with a president without authority, and changed the autocratic and oligarchic government of George the Third to the responsive democracy of George V. So when King Edward VII, prince of good fellows and most tactful of diplomats, and Delcassé, the French foreign minister, came together they settled the threatening war over Marchand and Fashoda by the discovery that centuries of bitter enmity between the French and the English had passed away by both peoples having evolved into the same ideals and the same responsibilities for democratic development and social justice. So keenly did the German Foreign Office, which had hoped for war between the two countries, resent this change that they said peremptorily to France, "Either dismiss Delcassé or Germany de-

clares war." No such imperious demand was ever made upon a sovereign state. But France was cowed and Delcassé was dismissed. But his work survives in the trenches of France and Belgium and the mastery of the seas for the Allied forces. To-day, after a hundred years, Napoleon and Bismarck upon the old field of Waterloo are leading millions of soldiers under new allignments in bloody battles for mastery in the affairs of the world of the ideas for which they stand.

The event of this century which in future years will be regarded as the most important and significant of them all is the hundredth year of peace between the United States and Great Britain. The subject of international peace is to be the engrossing topic, when this terrible war ends, with statesmen, publicists, educators and the people. The incontestable fact that these two powerful nations, with frequent and graver causes for war than many which have plunged other governments into life-and-death battles, have settled all their difficulties by diplomacy during all these generations, and have kept a boundary line of three thousand miles without a fort, and inland seas washing all their interior shores without a battleship, is a monumental argument for the peace of the world. It will grow in the minds and imagination of other nations as time rolls on. The American Peace Commissioners at

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Ghent were the brilliant Henry Clay, the finely equipped John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, a trained diplomatist, James A. Bayard and Jonathan Russell. To meet them the British Government sent inferior men without power or decision except as instructed from the home office. It is an interesting fact that as the negotiations were about breaking off, the mighty authority and dominating will of the Duke of Wellington brushed aside all obstacles and forced an agreement.

The City authorities of Ghent celebrated the event with a banquet at which the emotional and coruscating eloquence of Henry Clay found opportunity to introduce to the time-honored and well known speeches of Europe of that period, and still common, a flavor of the boundless West and the imagery of the setting sun which lingers in the letters of those present. John Quincy Adams closed the evening by proposing this toast, "Ghent, the city of peace, may the gates of the Temple of Janus here closed not be opened again for a century." It was an inspiration in which those there had little faith, but its realization makes it a rare prophecy. President Madison formally proclaimed peace between the United States and Great Britain in a document as vital and in as full force to-day as when it was issued one hundred years ago on the 17th day of February, 1815.

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Among these celebrations of events of the older time, it will not be thought frivolous in an after-dinner speech, which permits anything fit to print, providing it is interesting, that a hundred years ago trousers were first worn by suffering men. The tailor who appeared in them in Bond street, London, was assaulted by the mob and arrested by the police for indecency. The Duke of Wellington next tried the fashion, but was turned away from the most important ball of the season at Allwich. His fresh laurels of Waterloo could not save him from the indignation of the British matron. The governor of the ball said, "Your Grace cannot enter here. The guest at this ball must be dressed." The significance of trousers is that it marks the change which came in with the nineteenth century of nerve-racking habits of hurry and haste. Rest and repose no longer prolong and beautify our lives. The *otium cum dignitate* of Cicero has ceased to be a happy habit. The utilitarian says it cost Cicero his life, for he could have escaped Antony's assassins if he had hurried. The spirit of the age has cheapened literature. It is not that there are no great writers, but there are no patient readers. The pot-boiler drives out the classics. The clipper ship reduced the voyage to Europe from three months to six weeks, the steamship to ten days, and the Mauritania to five, while the cable annihilated distance. The stage coach and canal boat were

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superceded by the railroad, and the ten-mile-an-hour train evolved into the Twentieth Century Limited which made Chicago, a thousand miles away, a shopping suburb of New York. The mail is too slow for the present competition in business and the night letter by telegraph carries orders from New York which are executed the next morning in all the markets of America and Europe. In 1876 Professor Graham Bell demonstrated the practicability of the telephone for short distances, and in 1915 he talked easily three thousand miles across the continent with San Francisco. The Allies have cut the cables to Germany, but the air encircling the globe can neither be cornered nor cut and Berlin by wireless communicates daily with New York. In 1877 I had an option on a sixth of the Bell Telephone for some days for ten thousand dollars. I consulted the most famous telegraphic expert in the country and he advised me to drop it. "It is a toy and commercially a fake," he said. Had I followed my strong faith in the enterprise I would to-day (if alive, which is doubtful) be a hundred millionaire. I have always lost money when following the advice of experts. They are governed by their data and lack imagination, and without imagination all things not demonstrated are to them worthless. But to return again to trousers. The old paraphernalia of man's nether garments, with its shoes, buckles,

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stockings, breeches and flaps required ten minutes to put on. Trousers thirty seconds. Time is everything. A century of ten minutes saved each day by countless millions invents machinery, engineers' enterprises accumulate fortunes and fills libraries.

When Emma Willard appeared before the New York Legislature in 1815 and petitioned for a charter for a Female College the Solons were thrown into a panic. They saw more evils to the church, the home and society in higher education for women than the antis do now in female suffrage. Her speech was a clear and prophetic outline of the girl college as it has developed and exists to-day. But the Legislature unanimously rejected her petition and saved society. That brave and wonderful woman enlisted friends in her project, and without a charter established the first institution to place the opportunities for girls on an equality with those for boys one hundred years ago at Troy. Twenty-one years after Mary Lyon found that the success of Miss Willard's idea had penetrated the Great and General Court of Massachusetts under the sacred codfish in Boston and secured a charter for Mount Holyoke. Then slowly came, after titanic struggle, co-education at Oberlin and other colleges. Matthew Vassar, seeking the best use of his fortune for humanity, was advised to build and endow a college for women. He crossed the

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ocean to consult William Chambers, the most famous educator of his time. That hard-headed and conservative Scot said to Vassar, "A safer investment than a college for girls would be a seminary for the blind and dumb or the weak in intellect." The burning contempt of Chambers's opinion for woman's intellect reacted on the philanthropist, and Vassar College was founded to bless the country in unparalleled measure in its half century with its trained and cultured graduates and the impetus given to university opportunities for girls, which have resulted in Wellesley, Smith, Barnard and Radcliffe, and the opening to women of the State universities. I can remember as a boy that "bluestocking" was a term of reproach. In the limited education granted to girls in that period few had ever seen her. In the popular imagination, she was a living skeleton animated by unnatural views of the duties of wife and motherhood. Through her spectacles the world to her looked sour and discontented, and by her perverse views she added to its biliousness and dissatisfaction. The highly educated woman of the early part of the nineteenth century in village and rural communities carefully concealed her accomplishments. If known, she was to her generation what the witch was to her Puritan grandfather.

The colleges for girls have been made possible

by endowment, legacies and gifts from individuals. Many reformers are now strenuously opposed to the acceptance of large sums by old institutions of learning or permission for the creation and endowment of new ones by people of large wealth. They claim that the donors control the education of youth according to their ideas, which are generally reactionary and hostile to progressive development. This movement is born of ignorance and prejudice. Its sponsors have become so saturated with the baleful words "interests and privilege" that they see in everything the influence and ultimate triumph of "interests and privilege," meaning that a few favored citizens will receive benefits or powers dangerous to the public and denied to others.

I was a Regent of the University of the State of New York for thirty-four years, and for twelve years a member of the Corporation of Yale. I made a study of State and endowed colleges. There is no endowed college with whose instruction or instructors or its traditional spirit, its benefactors have either voice or influence. The benefactor dies, but the income from his gift goes on with the college forever. His generosity in its beneficence is a memorial which lives long after all else about him is buried with his bones. Yale, Harvard, Princeton and Columbia retain the ideals which are the inspiration of their students and alumni.

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Professor Sumner taught successive generations of Yale students the most advanced free trade doctrines. His genius and impressiveness as a teacher converted thousands of them. Connecticut was one of the strongest of protection States, and if Yale had been a State university Sumner would have been dismissed. The largest donors to Yale during Professor Sumner's career were protectionists and opposed to Sumner's teaching, but they had no voice, and there was never a thought of disturbing him. The same is true with the German professors at Harvard and Columbia now. But with State universities there is always a panic when the State administration changes in politics. The situation to-day in the University of Utah, with part of its professors arbitrarily dismissed and most of the others resigning, and conditions in the University of Wisconsin are current examples. When addressing State universities, the Faculty have told me, "Our academic independence is always in peril. We are dependent for our income on annual appropriations by the Legislature and the party in power for the moment starves us, if it disapproves our general policy or the views of probably our most distinguished professors. We have to maintain a lobby at the Capitol and the lobbyist is the most useful member of our Faculty."

The centenary which ought to have touched

us New Yorkers with more sentiment than any of the others of this remarkable year is the one which closed the three hundredth year of chartered commerce in New York. It passed with little public notice from our citizens. Three hundred years in the origin and growth of an American city is an event and an epoch. It antedates the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, which has inspired the best brains of the country and filled the libraries with history, eloquence and poetry. And yet this small spot of earth has nearly as large population, wealth, business, children in the schools, and more students in its colleges than all the New England States together. The careful New Englander has so nourished and celebrated his traditions that they are the teachings of our schools and the literature of our homes. The careless New Yorker believes that the location of his city, its superb harbor, the unequaled gifts which nature has bestowed upon it have so assured its pre-eminence that neither effort nor civic pride is required from him. This town pays forty per cent. of the income tax, collects sixty per cent. of the revenues of the United States, is the greatest manufacturing city in the country, with more capital and labor employed. Its art collections rank with the best in the world. Twenty-five thousand students crowd its professional, technological and art schools. On the map of the

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United States it is a speck requiring a microscope to discover, and yet in all that constitutes a great commonwealth it surpasses nineteen sovereign States of our Union. It has centered upon it the animosity or rather vindictive jealousy of the country, increasing in intensity according to distance. This feeling produced an income tax so framed as to relieve the constituents of its authors and put as much as possible the burden on New York. It manipulated the new banking system to take away our natural advantages as a financial center, and discovers that the laws of trade are higher than statutes of Congress. The statesmen who thus thought they had distributed money and credit regardless of conditions or needs find that, while thinking they had forever buried their pet horror, a Central Bank, have really created one of the strongest and most efficient in the world. In other lands and ages, on the spot where this municipal marvel began, would be erected a monument rivaling the wonders of the world, but instead the city slumbers and individual enterprise rears on the site of the log hut, which was the trading post of three hundred years ago at 39 Broadway, a skyscraper whose fifty-odd stories rise above the architectural wonders of ancient and modern times.

A conversation which I enjoyed with a group of gentlemen in Congress who were enthusiasts

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over the passage of the income tax measure and most optimistic of its results revealed a curious mixture of altruism and opportunism in the mind of statesmen. I said: "I agree with you that an income tax is fair because it imposes the support of government upon all according to their incomes. We all agree that every citizen who contributes ever so little towards carrying on the government is interested and watchful and that promotes better administration. Why then have you framed this bill to reach only a small proportion of the people, so small that they can have little influence? There are a hundred million people in this country. You have put the exemption from the tax so high that only 357,598, or less than one-half of one per cent., are called upon to pay." The answer was prompt. "If we included the rest or any large number of them we could never return here."

But the concentration of centenaries in this year of events which are writ large in the history of the world are not its only distinctions. It has an immediate and vital interest to us in the culmination of efforts for larger powers in the government over the activities of the individual to reverse the rules which have prevailed since the founding of the Republic, in order to bring about a social and industrial paradise known according to its authors under various titles as the new freedom, social jus-

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tice, the uplift or progress. That it is new is not doubted, but whether it is freedom or uplift social justice or progress is debatable. Years ago, in early studies of our development, I came to the conclusion that it is due, more than to anything else, to the principle laid down by the Pilgrims in their charter framed in the cabin of the Mayflower to form a government of "just and equal laws." This has been crystalized in our constitutions and laws, National and State, to make all equal before the law. It was a new idea of the relations of the people to their government. The autocrat, the oligarch and the bureaucrat were abolished and the individual was left untrammelled to work out his career. Thomas Jefferson's maxim "that government is best which governs least" became and has continued until very recent years the settled policy of the United States. We developed on broad and virile lines to be a nation of pioneers. With the Bible, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States as their libraries and instructors they carried the church and the schoolhouse with them into the wilderness. They founded and builded forty-eight commonwealths of the union with their marvelous advance in all that makes prosperous and happy States.

Every group has its leader. The experience of sixty years of active work over a large and

varied field has taught me that progress never originates nor is systematically carried on by the mass. It always has its inception and development in the individual. In older civilizations the death of the leader was either fatal or his power was inherited by a bureaucracy which sooner or later failed. But under our system of devolving responsibility upon the individual the leader of supreme ability is surrounded with capable and independent understudies who can take up and carry on the work. The creative influence of Washington and Lincoln is not questioned. The ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson have dominated our great parties and moulded our national policies. Jackson's leadership was so masterful that in rage at a financier he was able to change the financial system of the country. Though ignorant of either the principles or practice of banking, he forced the adoption of a system which was a perennial peril to our credit and involved us in disastrous panics in spite of our development. His dead hand held our financial policy, our banks, our currency by the throat for over half a century, and until partially released last year. Congress for two years has been in continuous session at the demand and to register the decrees of President Wilson because for the first time in a generation the Democratic Party has a leader.

Union labor, after many organizations and

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reorganizations, has, under the intelligent and masterful leadership of Samuel Gompers, secured a Department in the Government, a Cabinet Minister, and enacts or defeats legislation as it wills. It requires no effort of the imagination to see in this most savage and destructive war of all time the influence of Frederick the Great and Jean Jacques Rousseau, of Napoleon and Bismarck, of Nietzsche and Gladstone. In other fields are still Loyola and Luther, Wesley and Wilberforce. The same rule prevails in material affairs in the great Captains of Industry who have revolutionized trade and commerce, transportation and manufactures, and in literature and the pulpit. Journalism and the law give their unbroken and unanimous testimony to gifts which sway multitudes and leave indelible impressions upon the times.

The new idea is to reverse the laws of nature by acts of Congress. It repudiates the old system of the "equality of all men before the law," and seeks to secure the equality of all despite differences in character, ability, initiation, energy, industry and thrift. It tries to do away with competition, because under competitive conditions the best man wins, and then to so control competition which does survive that the lame and the lazy may divide with the strong, capable and sober. A national commission of well-meaning gentlemen to whom business is a mystery are given unlimited power over business

to help the weak and check the strong. The wise, experienced and able management of the railroads of the country is as necessary to the public as to the corporations, and yet another law when it goes into effect, if it is enforced according to its letter and spirit, will make it impossible for any one who has demonstrated his judgment and ability by accumulating property to be a director of a railroad company. The Hotel de Gink is to be our industrial university and the hobo our ideal of efficiency.

The statesmen who enact these grotesque laws are men of brains, conscience and patriotism. They have not been in contact with business, big or little, and spurn the lessons of experience. They believe that the faults or evils which are found in the transaction of business are to be remedied by unhatched theories. Nothing disturbs their cocksuredness. Up to forty I thought that a sign of strength and wisdom. At eighty-one I doubt. A study of the lives of the men in Congress and in every department of the government who are most active in these experiments, of the size, importance and industries of the places where they reside, of their contact with business, or of their opportunities to know practically its needs, is most instructive. Three members of Congress, who more than any others are the authors of legislation regulating business, hail from rural towns whose peaceful and primitive slumbers

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have not been disturbed by factories and whose joint populations are 20,000. An industrial commission is trying to find out the causes of the present unrest, unemployment and timidity of capital to invest in new enterprises or the expansion of old ones. It requires no investigation to discover that the business experience and success of the country are on one side but without power, and the theorists are on the other side clothed with all the might, majesty and authority of the United States.

The characteristic of our people is their ability for quickly adjusting themselves to conditions. Give them the rules of the game and they will speedily learn to play it. This faculty is an inheritance from the men and women who settled the wilderness and subdued it, who out of hostile surroundings built up prosperous States. They have never more clearly demonstrated these qualities than at present. The resistless energy, the progressive individualism, the invincible optimism of the American people is rescuing business from its official handicaps and promoting prosperity.

It is a significant development of the twentieth century that men who by supremely grasping the opportunities of the nineteenth and twentieth have accumulated great wealth are devoting it to public uses, instead of the old idea of founding a family. The almost incredible sum of six hundred millions of dollars has

already been so donated by John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. But another phenomenon of the times is that these gifts and the schemes to perpetuate them have aroused bitter criticism and fierce opposition. The Rockefeller Foundation saved Wellesley College after its disastrous fire, gave Yale the help required in completing a great medical school, sent a million dollars' worth of food to Belgium, when other sources were inadequate to save the starving millions of that unfortunate country. Its contributions organized boys' clubs on the farms and has increased them from nothing a short time ago to 10,343 in 1908, and they had grown in 1913 to 91,000. They are necessarily under the control of the Department of Agriculture, which pays the organizers and instructors one dollar a year, and all the rest of the expenses is borne by the Foundation. Similar conditions exist in the fight against the Boll Weevil. These clubs, under competent teachers, are raising on their little tracts three times as much corn and wheat as their fathers on the same farms. The Foundation has furnished the funds to investigate and stamp out the curse pellagra and save the cotton crop from the Boll Weevil. Yet, a United States Senator stirred that august body and won popularity among great masses of people by declaring that he would see the cotton plants destroyed and the industry ruined rather than they should be saved by the money of this

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Foundation. God would provide, he said, other means of living for these unfortunate millions of farmers and give them substitutes for cotton. I say it reverently, God leaves to his people the largest liberty in making their careers and conducting their affairs. The fool reaps the fruit of his follies and sadly learns by experience that no supernatural power reverses the rules of production or the laws of trade. The trouble with the interpreters of the Almighty is that they are densely ignorant of the Divine purposes. The foolish virgins cry to Heaven for oil and none drops, while the wise ones have a torchlight procession to the wedding feast.

Our ancestors knew all about tyranny and determined to found a government in which their descendants would be forever free. The tyrant, the dictator, the mob and the majority are equally ruthless of human rights if they check their desires or ambitions. So for the first time in government these inspired men of the Revolution imposed limitations upon themselves. They placed constitutional barriers around "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" which neither the Presidents nor Congress, nor the courts nor all combined could overstep. It is these safeguards which impatient reformers so vigorously and viciously assail to be themselves ultimately victims of license if they should succeed. I recognize the usefulness of extreme radicalism. While it would bring on anarchy

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or revolution, if unchecked, yet the violence of its advocacy moves the mass slowly to a sane and safe realization of its best objects. I read the most radical journals, but while fiery, they are dull. They discuss brilliantly all the problems of the day, but wind up each article with their remedy as the panacea for all the ills of society and government. They are much like the able essay or charming story which ends by recommending a patent medicine. Even in climbing Parnassus Pegasus cannot get out of the rut and runs around the base of the mountain. Either in exclusive and intense concentration on one subject, the mind loses its grasp and enjoyment of all questions or the advocates believe that constant dropping wears away the stone. Perhaps it may, but it promotes sleep.

It is a gift of healthy old age that you cease to be alarmed or worried. My philosophic friend, who had made and lost several fortunes, put his hat on the back of his head when down on his luck and cheerfully remarked, "The world always has gone around, and I believe it will keep going around." Galileo, when bored by the sermon, looked up at the chandelier and saw it swing backwards and forwards with the movement of the earth. This suggested to him the pendulum and the law of gravitation and the mathematical accuracy of the movements of the sun, moon and stars. The pendulum is on its

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return swing. Politicians are discovering it. Progressives and stand patters are joining in the chorus of the brotherhood of man and there is harmony in the choir. Finding that distress both with capital and labor has followed and industrial paralysis resulted from their hilarious crusade against business, they are eagerly assuring business that the Industrial Commission is to put the government behind business as soon as it is informed how it can help, and that they have happily discovered that strangulation is not the mission of regulation. Mr. Lincoln, in telling me in his quizzical way of some of his troubles, said, "I have a friend quite as able as I am, but everything has always been against him. He is a failure and very poor. When I became President I decided that among my first acts would be to reverse the bad fortune of my friend. I said to him, I will give you the marshalship of the District of Columbia. The salary is ample and I want you near me. He refused and demanded Minister to Brazil. I told him that position had been given to General Webb; that he knew nothing of Brazil and was not fit or equipped for the position. What you require, I said to him, for your family and future is money, and you can have the place of naval officer in the New York Custom House, which is an honorable position and will make you independent for life beyond your wildest dreams." He said, "If our positions were reversed I

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would give you anything you asked, and if I am denied Brazil I will take nothing." It is amazing how large a class that man represents. Eugenics is a good thing, but its advocates reach an extreme which threatens a setback for their efforts when among the bills its professors are pressing in a legislature is one that all knock-kneed men shall be compelled to marry bow-legged women.

The peril of old age is the general acceptance of its excuses. Youth and middle life are held to strict accountability for laziness, intemperance, neglect, indifference or any failure to meet the requirements of personal health or duty of society. But the septuagenarian or still more the octogenarian finds friends who tell him that exertion depletes his vitality. Work exhausts his strength and whiskey is a tonic for failing powers. If he succumbs to the voice of the siren feebleness, decay and death are charged to age. Martin Luther summed up the philosophy of healthy and vigorous age in five memorable words, "when I rest I rust."

A few days ago was the fiftieth anniversary of Appomattox. Those of us who were in full vigor on that eventful ninth of April, 1865, can never forget the effect of the announcement of the surrender of General Lee and his army, the generous terms conceded by General Grant and the end of Civil War. Stanton, Secretary of War; Senator Wade and Thaddeus Stevens, represent-

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ing the radicals, demanded the repudiation of Grant's agreement with Lee and vindictive punishment of Confederate soldiers and statesmen. Only the prestige of Grant and the policy of Lincoln prevented guerilla war for a generation. General Grant's cry "let us have peace" rang through the land as few utterances ever have. With slavery, the cause of the war, abolished, after a few rash experiments of military control, the seceded States were welcomed to all the rights under the Constitution and the Union enjoyed by their victorious brethren. On Decoration Day the Blue and the Gray intermingle the flowers strewn upon the graves of their heroes, and peace and prosperity have united North and South, East and West.

The victory at Sedan accomplished the object of the war which was the federation of the German States into the German Empire. France was only a means to the end. But the conqueror declared, "I will bleed France white." For forty-four years the patriots of Alsace and Lorraine have been ruthlessly punished for aspirations expressed in action or speech to be reunited to their country with the usual legacy of hatred, and the annual visit of the tax collector to gather the huge sums from the people of the French Republic necessary to meet the interest on the five thousand million of francs exacted as an indemnity from France has kept brightly burning the fires of revenge. This

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terrible war must end by exhaustion. Excessive and challenging militarism made the conflict. The peace of the world for the future depends upon the nations substituting arbitration for militarism and heeding in the terms of settlement exacted and accepted the lesson of Appomattox rather than Sedan.

**Speech at the Dinner Given to Mr. Depew by
his Railroad Associates in Honor of his
Eightieth Birthday at the University Club,
New York, May 5, 1914.**

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

All the celebrations which have been given in honor of my eightieth birthday have been most gratifying. Each one had its own peculiar significance, but this tonight from you, gentlemen, differs widely from the rest. There is an intimacy, brotherhood, both of time and conditions, which rarely exist.

I became connected with our New York Central Company forty-eight years ago. January, 1916, rounds out my half century. There is no one living in any capacity who was in the service of the Company when I began. There is no executive officer of any railroad in the United States who is still active, who was one when I became President thirty years ago. All these are distinctions. It is hard to define precisely what constitutes a distinction. Methuselah was the oldest man who ever lived and that was his distinction. He might have claimed and probably did that his age was due to a well-spent life. The man who set fire to the Temple of Ephesus, at that time the

architectural wonder of the world, accomplished his purpose which was to immortalize his name.

It is idle to enumerate examples, when there are so many among poets and historians, conquerors and philosophers, philanthropists and inventors, boy prodigies and old age wonders. Nevertheless, it is a distinction to be the longest of your line in any profession, pursuit or vocation, because there are many competitors and there is always a "bomb" with the fuse lighted under your official chair.

There is one word frequently used whose significance has never been properly understood and appreciated. That word is "association." It has no limit in confidential relations or time. It is difficult, after the lapse of so many years, after the crossing over to the other side of such a vast majority of your associates, after recalling their merits, their virtues, their good works, your love for them and their loyalty to you, to speak of the past without almost uncontrollable emotion. My policy and practice during all these years have been one of confidence and intimacy with all my associates in every grade of the service. I think, when active in the operation of the Company, I had a wider personal acquaintance with the thousands who were connected with the corporation than anybody. This was because my habit of speaking at the anniversaries and celebrations of the different Orders in the railway service, led to familiar

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acquaintance with locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen and those in the shops, in the yards and on the track. I may say, always believing in the virtue of reciprocity, I have never in my long career had my confidence abused.

To have been in close and active participation with the railway development of the last half century is in itself a life of extraordinary education and opportunity. To have had in a large measure the confidence of those great constructive minds who were the pioneers in the creation of this network of rails which has developed our country and made it what it is, was a rare privilege.

The attorney and counsel in my early days saw much of the president. He was generally a part of the executive staff, always on the car in the tours of inspection, always present at the frequent meetings, so difficult, so controversial, with the executives of rival corporations and always present when difficult questions in any of the departments had reached the executive for decision. When I became President, on account of this training, the operating department, the freight and passenger departments were to me as if I had been trained in each and all. And yet one of the most interesting of my duties was to stand between the public and the Company when hostility to the railroads was most acute. Agitators fanned this feeling into a flame, and

the press generally, and Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade were most unfriendly. Hostile legislation threatened both the efficiency and solvency of the railways. I recall as one of the most satisfactory of the events of the part I had in settling those troubles, removing antagonism and establishing harmonious relations between the people and the railroads. The most striking proof of this change from bitter enmity to cordial friendship was when the delegates from the State of New York to the National Republican Convention in 1888 unanimously presented me as their candidate for President of the United States. Those shrewd, able and wonderfully equipped men would never have advocated a candidate unless they firmly believed he would have, at the election, the support of the people.

It seems like the history of early times for me to stand before you and say that in my early days in the service Commodore Vanderbilt had the Hudson River and Harlem and afterwards, as you know, the New York Central and Lake Shore; Colonel Scott the Pennsylvania and John W. Garrett the Baltimore and Ohio. These men were giants in their day and of extraordinary genius for affairs. As an attorney I saw Commodore Vanderbilt every day at his office, in his house, during the last ten years of his life. I had, or prior to that time, been twice a Member of the Legislature and

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Secretary of State of New York. I had come in close contact with President Lincoln, General Grant, General Sherman, General Sheridan and all public men of that wonderful period of original and distinguished captains. It had made me a student, deeply interested in the mental qualities and characteristics which had made these men great. I came to the conclusion that the quality of greatness can neither be analyzed nor defined.

I have often found what would be a weakness in an ordinary man is the principal element of power in a great one. Commodore Vanderbilt was an enigma to his closest associates. How he arrived at conclusions they could not tell. They could only wonder that his conclusions were almost invariably correct and his decisions rendered almost immediately after the question was given. Some called it intuition, some luck. There was much of the former and very little of the latter. That the Commodore went from the steamboat to the steamship, in both of which he had been a leader, for the railroad, in which he became the leader, leaving the one and entering the other, at the right time in the industrial development of the country, was neither luck nor intuition, but marvelous perception of conditions, accuracy of judgment and resistless quickness in following judgment by action. It would take all night to recall and differentiate those leaders in the other systems.

A few of our own people. Most of you can remember Tousey, our General Manager. He was a capital officer who, like most of those who had come up from the ranks, had no use for the products of the schools. When we needed a superintendent, he said to one of the candidates, "Are you a graduate of the Troy Polytechnic, of the Stevens or the Massachusetts Tech?" "No," said the candidate. "What is your career?" "I began as a telegraph operator, then assistant to the division superintendent, then division superintendent, then general superintendent." "That's enough," said Tousey, "you are appointed."

One of the original characters was Major Zenus Priest, who was for fifty years, most of the time as division superintendent, with our Company. He always joined me in my repeated trips over the line. He was an excellent officer, kept his division in good condition, got along well with his men but always predicted a strike before I came over the road again. It was a time when the railway men were forming new labor organizations, and old Major Priest thought every new organization was a nucleus of a strike.

Another superintendent long with us was Burroughs, an original man who said very little, except to himself, with whom he was always talking. I remember going over the line with him on the pony engine, and I will say for those of my

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friends here who are not familiar with that machine that it is a cabin built over the boiler of the locomotive, with chairs on each side, so that you can sit in front and watch the track as the locomotive speeds along. Burroughs would sit on one side looking out. I, as President, on the other. Burroughs talking to himself would comment on the track, roadbed, grading, rails and say what he would do by way of compliment or punishment to the man in charge. On one trip, without changing voice, Burroughs said, "That switch is open,—in less than a minute we will be in hell." The locomotive jumped the switch and landed on the track all right, and the next comment was, "That switchman is discharged."

The most remarkable revolution in the last fifty years has been the relations between government, National and State, and the railroads. As a new country we wanted railroads, and settlements, farms, villages and cities followed along the lines of their construction. Building them was a huge gamble for the promoters. Some paid largely, some after years of struggle yielded a small return, while many went bankrupt and through several reorganizations ruined the original and succeeding investors.

A railroad never goes out of business, its rails are not torn up. It becomes indispensable to the communities it has created or made prosperous. And so making no returns to those who have put

their money into it as stockholders or loaned it their savings as bondholders and sometimes not even earning taxes, it continues to run under the Court and through a receiver. But the time came in railway development when government regulation was indispensable. The success of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, which was purely advisory, impressed the country. As an attorney, I opposed the movement at first, but soon became convinced that regulation was a necessity for the public, the shippers, railroad investment and operations.

William H. Vanderbilt was then President as well as the owner of a majority of the stock of the New York Central Railroad. He was a broad-minded man of great ability, but handicapped to a certain extent, as many an exceedingly capable son has been, by the fame of his father. After careful consideration he accepted that view and welcomed the Commission. The first idea of the Railroad Commissioners was that to secure equitable rates they must encourage cut-throat competition. They soon learned that this policy bankrupted weaker lines and also business in the territory which they served. These lines could not give their people a service which would enable them to compete with their more fortunate competitors on the stronger lines. The true principle of transportation was ultimately solved, that is equal rates to all and reasonable rates which will provide for maintenance and

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improvements and a fair return to the investors. But the rapid evolution of railway control has produced unexpected results. It has given us in the Inter State Commerce Commission the most powerful bureau in the country.

There are nearly two millions on the pay-rolls of the railroads, and with their families they number ten millions or one-tenth of the population of the country. There are nearly as many dependent largely on the railroads in the coal and iron mines, the steel rail mills and the manufacture of railway supplies. There are ten million depositors in the savings banks, and the largest investment of those banks is in railroad securities. So here are nearly two-thirds of the people directly or indirectly dependent upon the prosperity of the railroads, and the railroads entirely dependent for their prosperity and efficiency upon the Inter State Commerce Commission. The situation is without a parallel. The responsibility is paralyzing. The Commission has far more power than the Supreme Court of the United States. It more intimately affects the family and the home. It should have equal dignity in extended terms of offices and in salaries to attract the greatest ability and independence.

The following statistics are eloquent of the situation:

Of earnings of the railroads of the United States
in 1913

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amounting to.....	\$3,118,929,318
there was paid to employees.....	1,439,000,000
for taxes.....	129,052,922
for materials and supplies.....	320,823,000
in dividends.....	217,000,000
in interest or indebtedness.....	407,000,000

Reduced to percentages they exhibit this remarkable result:

Percentage from gross earnings paid to employees.....	44.00
Percentage from gross earnings paid for materials and supplies.....	23.10
Percentage from gross earnings paid for interest.....	13.04
Percentage from gross earnings paid for taxes.....	4.14
Percentage from gross earnings paid for dividends.....	4.09

Railway management is a profession requiring study, preparation, training, practical experience and high abilities. The government in the Inter State Commerce Commission should be able by reason of the honor and permanence of the position to attract to this service the most tried, proved and expert talent and character there is among the people.

There is no vocation where there is so much camaraderie and good fellowship as among railroad men. We have a difficult task to perform, the most difficult of any profession. The whole

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public uses the instrumentalities which we control, manage and work. Therefore, we have to satisfy the public of the United States, and at the same time satisfy the investors. This requires an unusual degree of character, intelligence, experience and devotion to duty. It is a tribute to the two million men who are engaged in the railway service that so few drop out by the way, so few render themselves liable to the criminal courts or the adverse judgment of superior officers in the discharge of the difficult functions, which in every branch they are called upon to perform. There is and always has been in our Central System an unusual degree of brotherhood.

When I entered service the Central System consisted of the Harlem railroad, running from New York to Chatham, one hundred and twenty-eight miles. To-day it has twenty thousand miles and is, if you take into consideration all that it is and does, probably the most important railway system in the world. It is a wonderful and grateful experience to have been so closely associated in the same company with the men, distinguished for their ability and achievements, who have come and gone in these last fifty years and to find myself in cordial intimacy and almost as one of the youngest among those who are still active.

Commodore Vanderbilt said to me one morning over forty years ago, not long before he died:

“I would like, if I could be assured, that some Vanderbilt would be in the management of the New York Central road for many generations to come, but I do not hope that the Vanderbilt influence will extend beyond the sons of my son William H.” If in the other world those who have passed the Great Divide are conscious of what is happening here, as I believe they are, then the Commodore must be pleased when he sees and knows that in the official ranks of the New York Central are two Vanderbilts of a still younger generation, William K., jr., and Harold, both efficient, both able, both promising, both with long lives of usefulness before them, and I am glad that we can welcome them among us here to-night.

My friends, four-score years seem wonderful in prospect. I remember when I thought that forty was old, when fifty ought to be the time to retire, when sixty was past consideration. But when one has passed that great climacteric of eighty, then the past seems to have been a preparation for the future, and the future he looks forward to with hopefulness, optimism, thanks and profound appreciation of the greetings, the welcome, the hail and hope which you give. I thank you, gentlemen.

Speech at a Reception Given by the Union
League Club of New York in Honor of
Mr. Depew's Eightieth Birthday on May 8,
1914.

(The reception at the Union League Club in honor of Mr. Depew's eightieth year was one of the largest in the history of the Club.

Samuel W. Fairchild, the President, was in the chair. Speeches were made by former Presidents of the Club, General Horace Porter and George R. Sheldon, and also by William D. Guthrie, George T. Wilson and William D. Murphy. The venerable General Benjamin F. Tracy, who was Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Harrison, gave interesting reminiscences and among them said that as a member of President Harrison's official family, he knew that the President had twice invited Mr. Depew to become a member of his Cabinet, the last time as Secretary of State.)

*Mr. President and Fellow-Members of the Union
League Club:*

It is most thoughtful of you and grateful to me that you thus celebrate my eightieth birthday. To have rounded out and passed the fateful four-score is an achievement, if accomplished with the retention of unimpaired health and vigor.

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It starts one hopefully on the last lap, but one, for the century mark.

So many friends and organizations are paying me this compliment that it is impossible for more than one to have their celebration on the natal day. The result is that my birthdays have been celebrated so often on different dates this year, that I have almost lost recollection of the "real" day. I am afraid that I may be like St. Patrick in this respect. That revered Saint had among his followers certain partisans who claimed that he was born on the 6th of March and others who insisted upon the 11th. Peace was finally restored by combining the two, so that now we all especially revere St. Patrick on the 17th of March.

I have been forty-six years a member of this Club and seven times its President, a record as to the Presidency which I may say, at my time of life and reminiscently, has not been equalled in successive terms of service by any other of the distinguished gentlemen who have filled this great office.

To have belonged to the Union League Club and been active in its affairs for nearly half a century is to have been brought in contact with the most evolutionary and beneficial history of the United States, of the State and City of New York, and with the eminent men who made that history. There are very few members of the Club who are familiar with its origin and who

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can go back successfully in memory to the times of the Civil War when this Club was organized. It may not be inappropriate to present a picture of our inspiring beginnings. The Union League Club grew out of the United States Sanitary Commission. At the time of the Civil War there were no agencies known to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded and to help the families of the killed, like the Red Cross of to-day. The United States Sanitary Commission filled that function in a remarkable way. It raised millions of dollars and through its branches all over the North furnished millions of dollars' worth of clothes and hospital supplies to the Union Armies. Its members in New York City felt that they needed a social home like a Club to increase the efficiency of their work. They were tireless laborers in collecting money and in forwarding supplies to the hospitals, to the field and to the soldiers' homes.

In the debate over the selection of a name, they first chose "Loyal," then "National," and finally decided upon The Union League. The only requirement, beyond character, was loyalty to the Union, regardless of party affiliations. It was meant to be a League of those who would devote themselves to the carrying out and perfecting in government Webster's immortal phrase, "Liberty and Union, One and Inseparable, Now and Forever."

The first great work of the Club was to raise a

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regiment of colored men. In a short time there were 1,020 enrolled in the first regiment and 600 recruited for the second. New York, at that time, was a disloyal city. Its trade had been seriously injured. It doubted the success of the Union cause. A large majority were in favor of peace at any price, and it had emphasized its bitterness by killing negroes and burning the Negro Orphan Asylum. The threat was openly made that the regiment would never be permitted to march through the city. The wives of the members of the Club presented it with the regimental colors, and the members of the Club, in a body, accompanied by their wives, marched at the head of the regiment to the pier, where they embarked for the field. That event, witnessed not only by the citizens of the city but by thousands who came in from the country, changed public sentiment, and, thereafter, the Club raised two more regiments and also three regiments of white soldiers.

The first public reception, which has been followed by so many other memorable ones, was given to that splendid soldier and magnificent looking specimen of a man, General Winfield Scott Hancock, who had come to New York to recruit the second corps of the Army of the Potomac. The Club raised for him two hundred and fifty thousand dollars and through its direct efforts three thousand men.

It may be well to record here that there were,

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at that time, in the City of New York, six thousand negroes capable of military duty, and of that number three regiments of one thousand were raised, armed and equipped by the Club and one thousand volunteers in other organizations. In proportion to their number, a splendid evidence of their loyalty and patriotism.

A feature of the Club life has been the receptions which followed that to General Hancock in 1864. I remember well the one tendered to General Grant, the year after the close of the War. He was far way the most distinguished figure in American public life. He had won sixty-three battles and ended the Civil War at Appomattox. The enthusiasm was boundless, but the hero of the occasion modest, embarrassed and speechless. When he returned to New York, after his presidency, to reside, he was the honored guest at all of our public banquets. I came in late to one of these, while the General was painfully trying to speak. He stopped and said, "If I could stand in Chauncey Depew's shoes and he in mine, I'd be happy instead of a miserable man to-night." It furnished me an opportunity, speaking later, to dwell upon who could ever stand in Grant's shoes. The General became subsequently an excellent public speaker and when he generously, after his defeat at Chicago, took the stump for the successful candidate, General Garfield, his addresses were most effective.

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We have received every President, with the exception of Cleveland, and each occasion was memorable, because each of these Chief Magistrates recognized that in his own nomination and election this Club had rendered most valuable and effective support. The most genial of Presidents, Mr. McKinley, loved beyond all the receptions given him in various parts of the country the cordiality and enthusiasm, the friendship and brotherliness with which he was treated here. Of course, the receptions to our member, Colonel Roosevelt and to President Taft are within all of your recollections. At the supper following the reception to Mr. Taft, I noticed that the elderly guests had serious limitations upon their ability to indulge in the feast. My own ability in that line being unimpaired, I called attention to the fact and derided them upon these evidences of "old days." Whereupon the always delightful and witty Choate convulsed the crowd by shouting, "Who is your plumber?"

The distinction of our Club has been the public measures which it has advocated by resolutions and pamphlets. In stress and distress, financial and industrial, which followed the Civil War, there was an active effort in behalf of repudiation of the public debt. It then amounted to about five thousand millions of dollars and seemed intolerable. The Club's resolutions formed the basis of opposition to this

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movement all over the country. Its clarion note was: "America can admit no distinction between public and private faith and on questions of finance will follow her old rule of honesty as the only one worthy of the intelligence and dignity of a free people." The greenback had become a fetish, and patriotism and good finance seemed to be wedded to fiat money. But in the fight to defeat unsecured paper and the subsequent right to debase our currency with unlimited silver and the great final and crucial struggle for the gold basis, the Club was foremost of all organizations for national faith and honest money.

There is necessarily a brief note of sadness in an occasion like this, but it does not impair the harmony of the occasion, but rather is in accord with it. It is the reminiscences of the good fellows, of the splendid characters, of the honest, old school and generous men who have departed. We mourn their loss as we rejoice that there came into our lives the inestimable privilege of knowing them in the intimacy of the family life of the Club. It is the alleviation of sorrow which makes it finally a blessing that it inspires with the mellowing of age recollections of all that was best and most lovable in those who have departed.

Of the large membership of the Club, for it is one of the largest in the country, there are only twenty-five men living who were here when I became a member.

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It is the special merit of our organization that it is one of the few which has been able to unite efficiency in public affairs with the highest development on the social side. No club, organized purely for social purposes, attracts within its walls such a large and frequent attendance of members.

I feel that I cannot better close my tribute to the Club and my thanks to you than by narrating an incident concerning General Washington, which I heard from the late Duke d'Aumale, one of the sons of Louis Philippe. The Duke said that his father, at the time of the revolution in France, was an exile in this country. He was a guest for a long time of General Washington at Mount Vernon. Louis Philippe said to the General one day, that in the course of his long career as a soldier, a statesman and President of the United States, there must occur to him many things which would have been better if he had done or said otherwise. To which General Washington answered, "I have never in my whole life done anything which I regret or said anything which I care to recall." The Duke said that often his father, then King of France, was urged to make declarations or to take positions and that his answer frequently was, "If I do that, I cannot say afterwards what General Washington said to me."

So, my friends, in looking back over the

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history of our Club, from its organization until to-night, we can proudly say it never made a mistake. It never took any action which in the retrospect it regrets, and never in its public utterances has said anything which it wishes to recall.

Address as Presiding Officer at the Meeting in
the Building of the Railroad Branch,
Young Men's Christian Association, on the
Occasion of Closing the Old Building for
Removal to the New, May 28, 1914.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the life of every beneficent association there are interesting periods. This is particularly so if the life has been one of growth and expansion. This organization, which started in a very small way thirty-five years ago, has now become one of the greatest agencies for good among the employees of the railways of the country. It has demonstrated its usefulness in so many ways that no one, either among the officers or the employees, has a word of criticism and only approval.

Fifty-eight years ago I graduated from Yale and returned to my native village of Peekskill on the Hudson. Edward Wells, a distinguished lawyer of Westchester County, had in his offices a number of young men and conducted a fair law school. Mr. Wells was more than a good lawyer, he was an active citizen in the church, in politics, in local improvements and in everything which would benefit the community. The young men in the office decided, with others in the village, to form an association for mutual improvement

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under the presidency of Mr. Wells. We met in the Sunday school room of the First Presbyterian Church. It was decided that each member should present a paper and then there would be general discussion of it and weekly meetings. I read the first paper, which was on Paul's sermon at Athens on Mars Hill. The paper led to an interesting discussion, and the meetings continued for about two years, when the association died. The cause of its demise was that its platform had only one plank, and that was too narrow for many to stand on. It appealed only to the intellectual side of the young men who became members.

The success of the Young Men's Christian Association has demonstrated that young men must be appealed to on many sides and attractions presented for their physical welfare, for the working off of surplus vitality, for social enjoyment and for physical comfort. In other words, to prepare a healthy body for a healthy soul and active mind.

In 1858, the year that this Peekskill infant died, some very wise and far-sighted gentlemen formed a Young Men's Christian Association.

This speedily grew and expanded, until now it is founded and appreciated in nearly every country in the world. It appealed to the best instincts of human nature, and especially during the period of growth and formation of character. Libraries could not describe the momentous re-

sults to society and the State which have come from the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. Its organization and career emphatically confirm what has so often been demonstrated, that God raises up instrumentalities to meet the requirements of crises in the affairs of men.

It was about this time that there was stimulated the rush of the youth of the land from the country to the city which has continued with increasing volume ever since. The rapid growth of manufacturing enterprises and the attractiveness of the larger opportunities of community life created industrial centers everywhere and added to the population of villages and cities. These young men were beset with perils of every kind. Liquor saloons increased in number and pool rooms abounded. The appetite for stimulants and gambling, always present, was abnormally excited. The loneliness of the country boy was his danger and his temptation. The saloon was a club, always inviting him. The more promising the young man, the greater his attractions, the larger his capacity for friendship, the more all-embracing his nature in good will for others, the more he was liable to yield to those, who, because of his popularity, wanted his society. The saloon recognized that in him they had a lode-star to attract others. The anchorage of youth is the will. The village and the city, under these conditions, weakened the will and

ruined the makings of a man. The Young Men's Christian Association offered to these young men counter attractions. It welcomed them to health, normal, mental and physical. It had its gymnasium and other methods of healthy exercise, it had its library, its lectures on useful topics, its educational branches fitting the untrained for careers, it had its games and recreations, it had its baths, always demonstrating that "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." The business men of the country began to find out that there was in the membership of the Young Men's Christian Association insurance policies against dissipation, poor service and speculation.

As an instance, I remember when I was on a Western trip over the roads of our system, receiving an urgent request by wire to stop off at Rochester to address a meeting of business men on the question of the erection and equipment of a building for the Young Men's Christian Association. I had an important engagement in New York in the morning, but I accepted the invitation. I arranged to have a locomotive and a sleeping car immediately after the meeting and overtake my train so that I could arrive in New York on time. The meeting was a wonderful success. Among the audience were members of every church in the city, including many prominent Jews. The appeal I made was to them as business men for efficiency and honesty in their service. Sufficient funds were sub-

scribed that night for land and a building. I took my train very happy, but in the night found myself flying along the roof of the car and landing in the aisle with the car on one side. The negro porter, who laid along side of me, said, "Boss, we have struck something." Happily we were near Syracuse. An engine came to my assistance, I overtook my train and arrived at my meeting on time. I could not have been in the air, awakened from my sleep, more than a few seconds, but in that time this went through my head, "I am in a railroad smash-up and in a minute more will be killed. The train on which I was will arrive in New York in safety, and if I had not gotten off to make that speech for the Y. M. C. A., I would not have been killed. What excuse will those young Christians offer to explain this tragedy to me?" I have been very happy ever since that such a difficult question was not put to them.

Friends, these Associations, of which this Railroad Branch is one, are devoted to character building and character saving. Character building, under proper environment, will usually succeed. It invariably succeeds when the environment has Christian associations, but character saving is more difficult. It is a missionary work which never ceases. It is especially the work of this Association and millions of characters saved attest its efficiency. Statisticians attempt to estimate the value of a

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young man to the community in money. That means simply his working power, but the value of a young man to a community in his citizenship is infinitely greater. In this I include his place in the family and the church. The loss of that young man, not by death, but by dissipation, is not only his elimination, but it is the effect of his conduct and example upon the community when he goes wrong.

Every enterprise before it reaches "easy street" has a difficult beginning and hard sledding over rough roads in its earlier years. Our Association is no exception to this rule. In 1875 the late Cornelius Vanderbilt asked me to meet in his office a locomotive engineer from Collingwood, near Cleveland. This engineer, an energetic, earnest and intense man, described his success in forming a Railroad Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association at the Terminal Yards at Collingwood. He said the conditions among the men, on account of drink, were bad. He could find no room and so he assembled the Associate Engineers and Firemen in the Round House. They had induced some philanthropic people in Cleveland to give papers and books. The success had been so great among the men that he felt if the scheme was enlarged, its opportunities had no bounds. Mr. Vanderbilt's reputation for charity and philanthropy he well knew, and so he came down to make this effort. Mr. Vanderbilt said to me,

“Chauncey, this scheme appeals to me, I will take it up.” He called in Mr. Tousey, the General Superintendent, and after explaining the matter, asked if he could not arrange a room somewhere for a meeting. One of the lumber rooms in the old Grand Central Station in the basement was cleaned up, a desk and chairs were put in and the first meeting was held. Mr. Vanderbilt secured a most efficient Secretary in the person of Mr. Stockwell, and Mr. Vanderbilt paid his salary and all the expenses of the enterprise. While the officers of the Company assisted, none of them, I think, were in sympathy with the movement. They believed in individual liberty of the employee to the limit, and if he went wrong, not try to save or reform him, but fire him. The effect of this initial movement upon the men coming in and who must remain at this Terminal was immediately evident. The opposition of the saloons and the pool rooms was intense. They did everything they could to discourage and prevent men from the various departments of the service joining, but Mr. Stockwell, the Secretary, was an attractive, energetic and forceful missionary. The rooms soon had daily and weekly newspapers, monthly and quarterly magazines, a very fair library, tables for games without gambling, lectures and courses of religious instruction, but not so pressed as to be oppressive. Then Mr. Vanderbilt conceived the

wonderful scheme of erecting and presenting to the Association this building. When finished, it was one of the most attractive club houses in New York City. Mr. Stockwell died, and then the Association was fortunate in securing one of the best men who were born and trained in this work, in Mr. Warburton, who conducted it to eminent success for twenty-five years and retired at the end of a quarter of a century with the love and regret of everybody. I am glad that from the large place which he now fills he is present with us to-night.

When the success of this work was demonstrated, Mr. Vanderbilt extended it over the New York Central Lines. As we went on railway trips to the West, the Northwest and the Pacific Coast, he invariably, when we reached the places where were the principal offices of the railroads, called upon their chief officers and urged them to introduce the system of Railroad Branches of the Young Men's Christian Association with proper buildings and assistance from the railway treasury. In nine cases out of ten, these railway officials had little or no confidence in the work, but the prestige of Mr. Vanderbilt was so great and his earnestness so intense that they did not care to disoblige him. Not one of them, after the experiment was tried, has ever advocated its discontinuance, on the contrary all have advocated its extension.

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You gentlemen, here to-night, can hardly appreciate the conditions which existed in the '70's at railway terminals. They were surrounded with liquor saloons and pool rooms. These places had runners, many of whom were in the service of the companies, to bring in recruits. The percentage of men dropped every month for drunkenness was very large. There were serious dangers to the public on account of intemperance among the employees. The social conditions at the terminals were bad because the saloon-keeper got about sixty per cent. of the man's earnings and his wife forty per cent. After these Associations had been established for a while, the wife got sixty per cent. and the saloon got none. The difference was evident immediately in the condition of the houses, the appearance of the family, the cleanliness and spirits of the children, the attendance at the schools and the prosperity of the churches.

This farewell meeting to this building, which was erected, completed and endowed by Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, would be incomplete without a tribute to the man. It was my good fortune and my happiness to be intimate with him from the time of his entrance into the railway service in his early life until his death. He was so modest and retiring, so shunned publicity that he was little understood. He was one of the most charitable, thoughtful, wisely philanthropic and courageous of men. As an instance of his

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courage, there was a reform movement started at one time against the corruptions of the city government. Corruptionists were in control of every branch. Mr. Vanderbilt was asked to become one of the committee for the meeting. An influential member of the city government, whom Mr. Vanderbilt knew well, called upon him and said, "I come in your own interest and as a friend. You are one of the wealthiest men in town. Our people control the tax department as well as the police, the Board of Health, the streets and everything needful to your comfort. You do not want to incur the active hostility of those in power, who cannot be driven out by this or any other movement. If you become a member of this committee, they will regard it as an hostile act and you will become a conspicuous victim of their vengeance." When the man left his office, Mr. Vanderbilt immediately called up the organizer of the meeting and said, "I will not only act as one of your committee, but will serve at the meeting as one of your vice-presidents."

This is an age of wonderful giving. The world knows who the large givers are and the amounts they contribute out of their surplus for educational, charitable and philanthropic purposes. There are members of Congress and sometimes a preacher who say the people ought not to accept these contributions, now amounting to nearly a thousand million of dollars,

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because the givers did not secure their vast fortunes in a way which these critics approve. It is the money which counts; its income from the investment will come long after the donor has been dead and forgotten; it will continue its work in the colleges, in the research institutions to prevent disease and to cure it, in the work to multiply the productiveness of the farms and to save the vast annual loss from distemper and epidemics in live stock, and to create centers of education and recreation, and uplift by libraries and schools everywhere. Generations unborn to the end of time will be recipients of this money working for their benefit.

There are other capitalists whose charities are unknown, the memory of whose gifts are only with the recipient and with themselves. I have known several of these anonymous givers, but the most persistent and generous of them was Mr. Vanderbilt. Representatives of colleges, of churches, of beneficent institutions of all kinds, I have known come to his office in despair and leave it with hope and happiness. Families and individuals innumerable almost owe their existence to the continued flow of these beneficent and secret gifts. No one but himself knew how large a proportion of his income every year was appropriated in this way. He was always in the many enterprises, church and charity, in which he was interested that most important member who makes up, no matter

how much the deficiency, what the others have failed to do. If it had been possible to preserve this building, it would have remained his monument, but it had to yield to progress. It is a happy illustration of love for himself and his work that, when this building had to be abandoned on account of the great improvement necessary at this Terminal, his brothers, William K. and Frederick W. Vanderbilt, and his son, Alfred G. Vanderbilt, have most liberally and generously contributed the money to erect a larger, a more complete and a more modern structure for the present and future of this beneficent work. I love old landmarks. I recognize that many of them have to disappear because of the great needs of the newer time, nevertheless, it is most fortunate that when it is possible landmarks, which stand for much in the past by way of lesson and example for the future, can be preserved. It is most fortunate that in the march of civilization across the continent, Mount Vernon was left by the wayside and not in the path of progress. If the railway had not been built and the river Potomac had become, as Washington thought it would, a great commercial highway, Mount Vernon could not have been preserved but would have been the site of a thriving industry and great hotels. But now in the hands of a society of patriotic ladies, it will remain a Mecca for all time for lovers of liberty from all over the world.

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I recently visited Bunker Hill. I noted how the city had surged around it and pressed upon it. If three-quarters of a century ago it had not been preserved, future generations would have lost the flower and fruit of the story of the Revolution.

We rejoice in the growth of the railway with which we are connected and with which many of us have been so long. A year from next January will round out my half century in its service. This has been for me fifty years of marvelous experience, of wonderful opportunities to witness the expansion of the country and especially of its railway systems, and of exquisite pleasure in cherished associations with men in every branch of the New York Central, and in every capacity in each branch. Equally with executive officers have been men whom I highly value in the Operating Department, in the Freight and Passenger Departments, in the Law Department, in the shops, and in every activity of this great corporation. In yielding to the necessities of expansion of our System, this building is to be succeeded by one much larger and much better equipped for the present and for the future, which is erected, completed and will soon be dedicated, but we can to-night devote our thoughts to the past, we can think of the work which has been done here, we can recall the thousands who have loved and passed through these rooms, we can rejoice in the

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young men who by the opportunity here offered have risen from humble positions to the very highest in the service of the railways of the country.

If a volume could be written of characters here formed, of characters here rescued, of opportunities here availed of, of ambitions here aroused, of careers here opened and of happiness which has come to thousands, in their own lives and that of their families, it would be one of the most helpful and instructive works in any library in the world.

Speech at the Grave of Lafayette in Paris on the Morning of the Fourth of July, 1914.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have rarely participated in a more interesting ceremony than this. I did not know until yesterday afternoon the story of the last resting place of Lafayette and the history surrounding it. I am sure that few Americans know this story. It illustrates better than anything two conceptions of liberty. During the reign of terror those amiable representatives Robespierre, Danton and Marat decided to clean out the prisons, and they made a battue of the prisoners and guillotined in one day 1,306. Their bodies were thrown into carts which were driven out into what was then the country around Paris and thrown into a ditch.

These victims had been guilty of no crime, many of them had never been tried, they were held because information had been filed with the Government against them by spies or enemies. The Government under the motto of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was so fearful of their power that they killed all who were opposed to or suspected by them of being hostile to their continuing in office. When the terror was over and orderly government and law was restored the families of these victims purchased the ground

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in which they were buried and a large tract around it. They surrounded the cemetery with a high wall. They then in the adjoining ground built a convent and a chapel. They arranged with a sisterhood of nuns to give to them the convent building, the chapel and grounds, providing they would care for the grave of the 1,306 and would offer prayers continually forever. They also provided a fund sufficient to maintain the convent and its duties. For over two hundred years two of the nuns have been day and nights before the altar offering these prayers, the sisters being relieved every thirty minutes by others. This will continue for all time. When Lafayette died he directed that he should be buried in the convent grounds next to the wall which enclosed the grave of the martyrs of the revolution. Here we have two remarkable illustrations of liberty. On the one side of this wall that liberty of which Madame Roland remarked when she stood at the foot of the guillotine, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" On this side the grave of Lafayette represents all that he and Washington fought for and all that we Americans and French celebrate on the Fourth of July.

It is a beautiful custom that the Americans in Paris should on every recurring of the birthday of their Republic place a wreath of flowers upon the tomb of Lafayette in perpetual commemoration of what he and the French did to

secure our Independence. It means that as long as flowers blossom and bloom so long will Lafayette's memory remain fresh and fragrant with the American people. Time eliminates celebrities. The heroes of one age are forgotten in the next. A man represents to the mass of the people the principles for which he fought and of which he was a leader. His associates are gradually forgotten and he alone remains to represent the idea.

When I was a boy every American school boy and school girl could easily recall the story of a score of the great American generals and French officers of the American Revolution. To-day I doubt if the great mass of the children of the United States could do the same for any, except Washington and Lafayette. They have crystalized in their names all that was won for the people by the American Revolution and of the assistance rendered by the French. Lafayette represented a universal conception of liberty hitherto unknown. There had always been patriots who were willing to sacrifice everything for their own people and their own country, but Lafayette gave himself, his fortune and his future for the liberty of a people of whom he knew little personally and the country of which he knew less and which he had never seen. It was the beginning of that sympathy for the principle by one nation for another which was struggling, sacrificing and suffering to secure

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its rights or a people to win their liberties. Knight-errantry had been chivalric on many battlefields, but never before to secure or to win fundamental rights for others than those of their own race or religion. It was the birth of that universal idea of liberty which made us sympathize and help Greece and which carried Lord Byron in his romantic gallantry to their assistance. It was the same principle which carried us into our neighboring island of Cuba for its deliverance.

Right minded people of all nationalities are laboring for universal peace. It will come when the world understands and is ready to act at any sacrifice upon the principles which actuated Lafayette and led him to enlist in the cause of American Independence.

Speech at the Fourth of July Banquet of the
American Chamber of Commerce, Paris, on
the Evening of the Fourth of July, 1914.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has been my pleasure and a very great one to attend a majority of the twenty Fourth of July banquets which have been given by the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris. All of them have been interesting and instructive with eloquence and humor. I miss the annual speech of my venerable friend, Mr. Seligman. I think that my prosperity and longevity have been assisted by his Fourth of July advice to all of us to live within our incomes and be true to our families.

I have celebrated the Fourth of July in many countries and several times on a steamer on the Atlantic ocean. The day is a sad one for an American on the Atlantic. He recalls, as I well remember, that sixty years ago the United States had sixty-one per cent. of the tonnage of the ocean. To-day it has less than nine per cent. This is because practical men have been replaced in legislation by theorists. The theorists would be all right and successful, if the millenium had arrived and Gabriel's trumpet had sounded and all peoples of all nations were united in one

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brotherhood and singing the same hymns. Germany, in the meantime, within the last quarter of a century has abandoned her theorists, and her practical men of experience and wise statesmanship have made her from nothing the second maritime power of the world.

Sixty years ago the Fourth of July orator was most eloquent on the flag of his country flying from American ships on every sea and in every port of the world. Now the American circles the globe and never meets an American ship carrying the flag of his country. I love to recall the old Fourth of July of sixty and seventy years ago, when in every village the veterans at sunrise fired the old cannon, the church bells rang, the procession went round the streets with the old soldiers of previous wars in carriages, the people gathered in the grove and listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence and the inspiration of the oration. The small boy fired his pistol and his crackers, burned his fingers and his face with powder and was a recruit in the future at the call of his country. Now there is no sunrise gun, no procession, no oration, everybody goes on a picnic, the children eat too much cake, drink too much lemonade, fill up with ice cream and remember the Fourth of July as stomach-ache day. But under our new dispensation it is what the eugenics call a sane and safe Fourth of July.

Americans can celebrate the Fourth of July

and bring its spirit anywhere in the world. This year it will be significant in England because it is a part of the celebrations of the hundred years of peace between English speaking peoples. But it is celebrated with more sentiment and fervor by Americans away from home in France than in any country, for Lafayette and Rochambeau equally with Washington made the Fourth of July possible. French aid, French armies and French gallantry joining with the American army saved liberty for the United States and the world. So Americans can say of the French on the Fourth of July what my old friend, Colonel Somers of South Carolina, said in closing a hot discussion on the merits of religious sects. The Colonel said, "I admit that Catholics can go to Heaven, so can Baptists, Presbyterians, Unitarians and others, but if you wish to go to Heaven as a gentleman with gentlemen, you must be an Episcopalian."

To appreciate the spirit of this day, we must go back. We must think of what there is of the old which is worth preserving. Everything new is not better than the old because it is new, nor is reform always an improvement. The old athlete who regained his strength every time he fell on his mother earth typifies the American who gets new inspiration from the Constitution of the United States. It is fashionable now to ridicule these statesmen who one hundred and twenty-seven years ago, sitting in convention

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with their knee breeches, silver buckle shoes and silk coats framed the Constitution which Mr. Gladstone said was the greatest document ever prepared by men at one session.

The fathers of the Republic in founding their government had several distinct purposes. One was to form a Union of the States which would be indestructable, the other that the people, instead of legislating in mass meetings, should elect from their own number competent men to be their lawmakers. They then created a new department of government, the Supreme Court of the United States. The power of this great Court was to prevent the Congress from passing laws which were not permitted under the Constitution and to protect the people from unconstitutional acts, which would impair their liberties or confiscate their property.

This Government has existed unchanged for a hundred and twenty-seven years. It has added to the Union thirty-five great commonwealths or States; peopled the continent and made our country the freest and happiest the world has ever known. The fathers' central ideas were to base their institutions on the individual. All governments the world over were built upon classes. The fathers abolished classes and gave power to the masses. They encouraged the individual by giving him the largest liberty to work out his own career and destiny. Freed from the shackles of aristocracy and privilege

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created by law, the individual has superbly demonstrated the wisdom of this policy. He has built up cities and villages, he has turned the wilderness into farms and the waste places into gardens. He has scaled the Rocky Mountains and created an empire on the golden coast of the Pacific. He has built mills and manufactories, he has developed water power and natural resources, he has found and contributed to the world for its health, wealth and happiness mines of coal, gold, silver, copper and other minerals. He has carried with him everywhere religious and civil freedom. He has carried with him the church, the schoolhouse and the free press. This process and system has permitted the ablest and the most resourceful to win great prizes, but in a measure the whole community has shared in the results of his genius.

Now we have a new school. This school would destroy the safeguards of the Constitution and deprive the individual of the fruits of his ability, energy, resourcefulness and farsightedness. The question is and it is an acute one, will we have better laws from the mob than from Congress? The new school demands that laws shall be initiated by a petition of five or ten per cent. of the voters and passed by a plurality of a general election. So far in the States where it has been tried the busy people become confused by having so many questions to study and to act upon, that as a rule only twenty per cent.

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vote, and eleven per cent. or just a majority of the twenty per cent. constitute the government. The new school also would make the mob the court. It would recall the judge if a temporary majority did not like his decision and virtually destroy the court. I believe the best judgment of our country is convinced that the rights of the minority, the permanence of orderly liberty and the safety and welfare of our people depend upon preserving the independence and integrity of the courts. Our country with two great leaders who founded two schools of political thought—Hamilton, who believed in a strong central government, in the regulation of everything possible by law and in providing every safeguard against hasty action by the people; Jefferson on the other hand believed that the States should be the stronger, that the central government should have very little power and that there should be the fewest possible laws. His famous maxim was, "That government is best which governs least." The Republican Party retains the principles of Hamilton in the main. In the changes of a century The Democratic Party, which was founded by Jefferson, has repudiated Jefferson and adopted the principles of Hamilton. It believes in strengthening in every way the power of the central government. The Presidency has grown in power until our chief Magistrate exercises more authority than the Czar of Russia.

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He initiates laws, calls Congress together and tells the Senate and the House of Representatives that they must pass them, and the Senate and the House of Representatives with little hesitation obey. The people seem to like this change in the spirit of our institution but it makes our executives all powerful and our legislators rubber stamps.

The new system, the new idea is rapidly developing into control by the government of all business. The railways are the arteries of production and commerce and their prosperity is the sure barometer of the prosperity of the country. The control by the government of the railroads is now complete but without the government assuming any responsibility. With the government's approval the wages of the employees have been increased within the last two years sixty millions of dollars annually on the roads East of Chicago, and many more millions have been added to the expenses of the railroads by full crew laws which are foolish and unnecessary, by regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission and taxes. The railroads have no way of meeting these increased expenses except by increasing rates. The government has hesitated for many months to give relief which is so plainly needed that every business man in the United States thinks it ought to be done.

A government official said to me, "When the

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prophet Elijah asked the widow for some breakfast, she said that she and her son were starving, that they had only enough meal in the barrel and oil in the can for one cake and that she and her son were going to eat that cake and then die. But Elijah said, "Keep taking meal out of the barrel and oil out of the can and they will never fail." The widow had faith, she fed Elijah, her son and herself and the whole neighborhood while the famine lasted. The more meal she took out of the barrel without any being put into it, and the more oil she brought out of the can without any fresh oils being added, the more meal there was left in the barrel and the more oil in the can. "Now," said the official, "why cannot the railroads do that?" I said, "Because the government do not give us Elijah." I have been in active business for about sixty years and during the whole of that time general prosperity and good crops have gone hand in hand together. There never has been a time when the earth has brought out its abundance and the harvests have created new wealth that there did not follow an improvement in every business and booming times in every department of American investment, endeavor and employment. We have assured this year the largest crops in the history of our country, the wheat fields give two hundred and fifty millions more bushels than ever before, and corn, barley, rye, oats and cotton show equal phenomenal increases. From

all experience there should be brilliant markets and wonderful prosperity, but instead neither the exchanges nor the factories nor the labor employment bureau responded. What is the matter? President Wilson is able and honest. He is the best educated and most cultivated of our Presidents. He is an eminent college president and professor, but never was in contact with business. He said to representatives of the 36,000 manufacturers from the West who complained to him that they were working on half time with half employment because of uncertainty as to legislation, there was no reason why they should not be running their factories on full time and reemploy all their employees. "Gentlemen," he said in effect, "the trouble with you is not the laws which have been passed by this Congress or which we propose to pass; your trouble is purely psychological. Go home and think prosperity is here, and you will find it here." A lady said to the son of a neighbor, "Bobby, how is your father?" Bobby said, "He is very sick, madam, and we are afraid he will die." The lady said, "Bobby, tell your father to think that he is well, and he will be all right in a few days." Some time afterwards the lady met Bobby again and said, "Bobby, how is your father?" "Well," said Bobby, "madam, he thinks he is dead and so we buried him."

We have the new tariff law and the new currency law which most people approve and we can

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adjust our business to the new conditions they create. But Congress is now passing laws called Anti-trust which give to the government the power to examine into every business, whether by an individual or by a corporation, and to ascertain all its secrets and reveal them. This legislation is said to have two objects, one to promote competition, the other to prevent competition. The business world says to the President, to the Cabinet and to the Congress of all parties, "Give us a rest." I am an optimist by nature and more so by experience. The American people, who have accomplished such wonders in the last century, in the last fifty years, in the last quarter of a century, have still the same vigor, the same enterprise and the same hopeful audacity as of old. They cannot stand uncertainty. Give them the rules of the game, whatever they are, and they will play the game to the limit and as they have always done to success. Their resourcefulness still exists. At Hammondsport, New York, the other day, at a trial trip of the hydroplane which is to cross the Atlantic, they had an American flag, but none of England or France, which countries she is to visit. A citizen had two cancelled postage stamps, one English and the other French. He pasted one on one side of the hydroplane and the other on the other side, and then she went in the air carrying the emblems of the United States, France and England.

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The wonderful report of Admiral Fletcher detailing the gallantry of our sailors and soldiers at Vera Cruz shows that the spirit of the Revolution and of the Civil War on both sides is still as brilliant and full of self-sacrifice and patriotism as ever.

Liberty has now more oracles and priests than ever before. They interpret her teachings in many and diverse ways. They appeal to passion, to self interest, to prejudice, to class hatred. But she is the same pure spirit which guided the patriot armies from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, inspired the immortal Declaration of Independence and granted wisdom to the framers of the Constitution. To maintain in spirit, in legislation and in national life her beneficent principles is the glorious mission of our sister Republics, the United States and France.

THE TRICENTENARY OF OUR CHARTERED COMMERCE

Written for the New York Times, November 1st, 1914, Telling its Story Since the Early Days of the Dutch and of the Lessons that May be Learned From it for the Future

The first quarter of each century has been distinguished by events which have had a marked influence on the history of the world. In 1314 the union was formed between France and Navarre which created a new and dominant power in Europe.

In 1415, one hundred years later, was fought the battle of Agincourt which gave France to England for a long period of years. In 1610, two hundred years later, Henry IV. was murdered, the tendency toward liberalism was stopped, and France came under the baleful influence of Marie de Medici. After the brilliant government of Cardinal Richelieu, the Edict of Nantes was repealed, the Huguenots scattered over the world, to the great enrichment of other nations and the paralysis of French industry.

In 1814 the battle of Waterloo ended the career of Napoleon and restored Europe for a time to Bourbon and autoocracy.

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We turn to Germany and find the same fateful first quarter of the century; 1508 to 1517 saw the rise of Luther and the most significant revolution of the Middle Ages. In 1618 began the thirty years' war, which destroyed cities and wasted the country, and after awful horrors and slaughter left Germany seriously depopulated and impoverished. But in 1813 arose the Order of the Iron Cross, which drove Napoleon from Germany, aroused German patriotism and regained Germany independence.

Great Britain in her history singularly illustrates the same rule. In 1215 the Barons at Runnymede wrung from King John Magna Charta, the genesis of our own liberties. In 1314, one hundred years later, the battle of Bannockburn united England and Scotland; 1611 witnessed the completion of our authorized version of the Bible. Its influence has been incalculable upon English and American history, upon literature in the English language and upon the language itself; 1614 was the zenith of the activities of Shakespeare, and the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, gave to Great Britain her escape from the peril to her empire and her commerce and a commanding influence on the ocean and in the affairs of Europe, Asia and Africa. The victory at Blenheim in 1704 was followed by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which conceded the things necessary for the British Empire of the future.

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The year 1914 is one of the most fateful, not only to the United States but to the world. The most gigantic war of all the centuries is in progress. Eight hundred millions of people, one-half of the inhabitants of the earth, are in deadly conflict, with engines of destruction never imagined by the soldiers of the past. The destinies of dynasties, the boundaries of empires, the liberties of peoples, the future of civilization, the influence of Christianity are all involved in this titanic conflict.

But at the same time, for the United States, 1914 is an era of the victories of peace. It witnesses the completion of a century of peace between the United States and Great Britain. It heralds the end of four hundred years of effort in the completion of the Panama Canal. It witnesses the completion of the enlargement of the Erie Canal. It brings us together to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of that small beginning of the commerce of New York which has flowered and fruited in the centuries with a speed unknown in the history of more ancient capitals, into the leadership of all but London and rivalry with her.

The often tried and often defeated efforts to find a northwest passage to the East are what led to the discovery of America and the event we celebrate. This was the quest of Columbus and which caused other navigators to try for an open door along the Atlantic Coast and the

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Isthmus of Darien. The failure of their search revealed a continent instead of a strait. It gave to the world the opportunity of ample room for the development of civil and religious liberty, so remote from old despotisms that before its meaning and result could be comprehended a new and mighty nation would become their guardian and protector.

The effort of Philip II. to exterminate this liberty in Holland by persecution so terrible that it carried one hundred thousand men and women to the stake aroused a spirit of defiance and independence which turned a whole people into an organization known to fame and history as the "Beggars of the Sea." These glorious mendicants took toll of the ocean. They won their lands from the waves by their dikes and flooded them to drown their invaders and persecutors. They sunk or drove into ports the fleets of King Philip and extended their power over Java and East Indian islands, and others in the West Indies which Holland still owns.

But their spiritual development was greater than their material victories. In an age enveloped in darkness, they gave home and welcome to alien races and religions. The Jew was safe, and Catholics and Protestants found equal freedom. The Puritans, fleeing from England, had the unrestricted enjoyment of religion according to their belief, an open field for earning a living by their industries and the incalculable

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advantage of Dutch schools and Leyden University, at that time the best in Europe. Dutch scholars were leaders of thought and their artists of unequalled genius. Their inventors gave to science the microscope and improved the telescope. Such were the people who founded New York and started it upon its imperial career.

The discovery of North and South America stirred nations and individuals to grasp and utilize their treasures. The only settlement purely for liberty in all the tragic story of those centuries upon the Americas was that of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. Cortez and Pizarro were ruthless and savage conquerors. St. Augustine was founded in 1565 as a Spanish military post and developed no commerce. The English settled in Jamestown in 1607, but the colonists had to be supported for years by the mother country, not even raising enough for food. In 1614 they commenced cultivating and exporting tobacco, which after some years made them self-supporting, but they created no commerce.

The Pilgrims from their settlement devoted themselves to domestic affairs, but had no foreign trade. The settlement of New York between the dates of Jamestown and Plymouth was purely a commercial enterprise. It was successful from the start, and the growth and expansion of its commerce have gone on during three centuries until it has reached its present imperial and worldwide proportions.

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Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was prominent among those early adventurers whose tales could draw cash and ships from Kings and merchant princes. His story captured the imagination of Henry IV. of France, the hero of Navarre, but the merchants of Holland were quicker and more audacious and secured his services. He made both believe that he was the sole possessor of the secret of the coveted northwest passage to India. The solid men of Amsterdam gave him the good ship *Half Moon* of 100 tons, fully manned and equipped for a long voyage.

Henry Hudson was never in a hurry. He added to his English stolidness and tenacity a large measure of Dutch phlegm and love of ease. On Wednesday, September 2, 1609, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, according to the log of the *Half Moon*, she dropped anchor at Sandy Hook. She remained in the lower bay ten days to give time for the Captain and his Holland staff to reflect on the situation. September 12 she raised anchor, sailed through the Narrows and anchored off the Battery. The next day, September 13, she made eleven and a half miles to Spuyten Duyvil Creek. There Hudson's boats discovered that Manhattan was an island, and old New York owes to him this important information. On the 14th the *Half Moon* reached Yonkers, and, being satisfied that he had found the strait leading to the goal of his quest, the northwest passage to India, he

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continued up the Hudson until the shallows near Troy grounded his ship and dispelled his hopes. He reached New York on his returning trip October 4, having in the month demonstrated the navigability of the river and gained immortality for himself by giving his name to this most picturesque of rivers. When he cleared the harbor and pointed his prow for Europe, the Half Moon became the pioneer of the ocean sailing vessels which for three centuries in large fleets have made New York the chief port of the Western Hemisphere.

Hudson, having failed in his contract to find the northwest passage, stayed in England on his return, but sent the Half Moon and the maps and accounts of his discoveries to the East India Company at Amsterdam. The Half Moon, the pioneer of shipping to and from New York, was lost in 1615 in the Indian Ocean. These farsighted and enterprising Dutch merchants saw the possibilities in Hudson's report and maps of the new country he had found and explored.

The Dutch had not three hundred years ago advanced to our present distrust of the individual and fear of his success. They encouraged their citizens to undertake adventurous enterprises all over the world by promising them large returns if successful, not from the State but from the results of their discoveries. The explorers took all risks and perils, and if unsuccessful the losses, but were protected in

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their conquests until amply repaid. The East India Company, operating in the East Indies and eastern coasts of Asia and Africa, had not only gained riches, but added enormously to the wealth and prosperity of their country.

The present colonies of Holland in the East came from the East India Company. In 1612 the enterprising merchants of Amsterdam fitted out two ships to confirm Hudson's discoveries, one under Captain Christensen, the other under Captain Block. They built four huts for trading purposes on what is now 39 Broadway, and there the commerce of New York began.

Here we pause to pay tribute to Captain Block. His ship was burned in our harbor. Nothing daunted, this intrepid navigator turned ship builder. The magnitude of the task would have been appalling to the average man, but Captain Block was a pioneer of civilization. With no shipyards, no tools but those saved from the wreck, no machinery for cutting down the trees or sawing the logs, the Captain hewed out of the primeval forest the materials for a ship forty-four and a half feet from stem to stern and eleven and a half feet wide. He named her the "Onrush," or Restless. Her activities justified her name. She sailed lightly through the perils of Hell Gate, rounded Cape Cod on the north and anchored in Delaware Bay on the south. Her intelligent Captain made maps, whose accuracy was subsequently verified, of

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Long Island Sound and the coasts of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut. This modest hero, whose achievements have little mention in our histories, whose only monument is Block Island, whose reward was to be made commander twelve years after, in 1624, of the whole fleet sailing between this port and Holland, was the founder of the mercantile marine of the United States.

“The States General of the Free United Netherlands Provinces” published in March, 1614, that they would “grant to whoever shall resort to and discover new lands and places” the right that they “shall alone be privileged to make four voyages to such lands and places from these countries exclusive of every other person until the aforesaid voyages shall be concluded.” The return of Captain Block with his report of his discoveries and statement of the possible commercial opportunities of the territories along the Hudson and Long Island Sound aroused the Dutch merchants to renewed efforts. They formed a company called the New Netherlands Company, and this company on the 11th of October, 1614, was granted a charter from the Government of which the following are the main features:

Grant of exclusive trade to New Netherlands. The States General of the United Netherlands to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas Garrett Jacob Witszen,

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ancient Burgomaster of the City of Amsterdam (and certain other persons named), all now represented in one company, have respectfully represented to us that they the petitioners after great expense and damages by loss of ships and other dangers have during the present year discovered and found with the above-named ships certain new land situated in America between New France and Virginia, the sea coasts whereof are between forty and forty-five degrees of latitude, and now called "New Netherlands"; and whereas we did in the month of March last, for the promotion and increase of commerce, cause to be published a certain general consent and charter, setting forth that whoever should thereafter discover certain new havens, lands, or passages might frequent or cause to be frequented for four voyages such newly discovered and found places, to the exclusion of all others from visiting or frequenting the same from the United Netherlands until the discoverers or finders shall themselves have completed the said four voyages, or cause them to be completed within the time described for that purpose under the penalties expressed in our said Octroy, etc.; they request that we shall record to them due account of the aforesaid Octroy in due form.

Which being considered, we therefore in our assembly have heard the pertinent report of said petitioners * * * have consented and granted, and by these presents do consent and

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grant, to said petitioners now united into one company, that they shall be privileged exclusively to frequent or cause to be visited the above newly described lands in America, between New France and Virginia * * * for four voyages within the time of three years commencing the 1st of January, 1615, next ensuing, or sooner, without it being permitted to any other person from the United Netherlands to sail to or frequent the said newly described lands, havens, or places, either directly or indirectly, on pain of confiscation of the vessel and cargo wherewith infraction hereof shall be attempted, and a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats for the benefit of said discoverers or finders; provided nevertheless that by these presents we do not intend to prejudice or diminish any of our former grants or charters, and it is also our intention that if any disputes or differences from these are developed they shall be decided by ourselves.

We therefore expressly command all governors, justices, officers, and inhabitants of the aforesaid United Countries that they allow the said company peaceably and quietly to enjoy the whole benefit of this our grant and consent, ceasing all contradictions and obstacles to the contrary. For such we have found to appertain to the public service.

Given under our seal, paraph, and the signature of our secretary.

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At The Hague, the 11th of October, 1614.

Thus, on October 11, 1614, not by accident, but by able and farsighted citizens of Holland, recognizing the wonderful situation and limitless future of our unequalled harbor and an enlightened Government encouraging their efforts, was begun in a formal way and under solemn official sanction the commerce of New York.

The first report of the beginning of commerce came two years later from Captain Cornelius Hendricksen, who reported to the Government that he had for his masters, the New Netherlands Company, "discovered certain lands in North America and did trade there with the Indians, said trade consisting of sable furs, robes and skins. He hath found the country full of trees and hath seen in said country bucks and does, turkeys and partridges."

Trade developed rapidly. Present business was profitable and increasing. So at the end of four years the New Netherlands Company applied for and was granted by special license an extension for three years until June 23, 1621. When the company asked in 1621 that instead of special license the charter should be renewed for a long period, the request was denied. In this connection there develops an interesting and epoch-making chapter in the history both of Holland and of New York.

The eighty years' war for Dutch independence had resulted in 1609 in the impoverishment of

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Spain, and Holland becoming one of the richest and most enterprising nations in Europe. Spain asked for a truce until 1621, which was agreed upon. This truce was followed immediately by activities in exploration and of commerce by Holland and its first result was the sailing of Hudson and the Half Moon a few days after.

In 1579 the Dutch, having revolted from the tyranny and persecutions of the Spanish, had formed a confederation of the seven provinces and united them as States in the union of the United Netherlands. This successful federated Government of independent States gave the idea and methods to our forefathers for the creation of the Republic of the United States. When the truce of 1609 to 1621 was ended by Spain renewing the war for the subjugation of the Netherlands, the Dutch Government, in denying the extension of the charter of the New Netherlands Company, notified the petitioners that they must form a new and more powerful corporation which could not only increase the commerce of the mother country, but be sufficiently strong in armed ships to protect it.

Acting upon this suggestion, the members of the company invited a general subscription for a new corporation to take over the business of the old and meet the requirements of the Government. It was capitalized at \$2,800,000, an enormous sum for those days, but the capital was over-subscribed \$43,261.44. Each of the

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seven provinces or States had a representation in the directory of twenty, proportional to their subscriptions. The company was granted vast powers not only for commerce, but for war and peace.

On February 12, 1620, New York lost one of those opportunities which, if availed of, change the course of history. Pastor Robinson, the minister and leader of the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland, desired to bring his flock of 400 families to New York. The New Netherlands Company was most anxious to secure these settlers, but not having the transportation or warships to convey them, petitioned the States General for both. The States General were exhausting all public and private facilities to prosecute the renewal of the war with Spain and were obliged to decline.

If the Pilgrims could have waited a year until the powerful West India Company had its fleet on the ocean, the settlement of Massachusetts might have been long postponed, and under the mellowing influences of our unsurpassed climate and associations with the genial and hospitable Dutch, the Pilgrim Father might have become a Dutchman. But literature and eloquence would have lost some of their noblest and most inspiring contributions.

The West India Company, in the midst of its activities in war, systematically and wisely developed its New York possessions. The Dutch,

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acting with traditional honesty, instead of taking the land by force, opened negotiations with the Indians, and the company reported to the States General that it had purchased the Island of Manhattan from the wild men "for the value of sixty guilders; it is eleven thousand morgens in extent." If that is translated in terms of to-day, the Island of Manhattan, consisting of twenty-four thousand acres of land, was bought from the Indians for twenty-four dollars.

Immigration was encouraged, and the price of the passage from Amsterdam to New York, everything included, was only six dollars, though the time was about eight weeks. The land increased rapidly in value. The records show that in 1640, twenty-four years after the purchase of the island, in the settled parts and on the principal streets a lot with a frontage of thirty feet on the best business street could be bought for fourteen dollars, while in the residential part the same sum would secure one hundred feet frontage. In 1656, thirty years after the arrival of the first permanent settlers, a census was taken which enumerated seventeen streets, one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand inhabitants.

Our study naturally turns to the beginning and development of trade from this port. The first account is the arrival at Amsterdam in 1624 of the New Netherlands, which had carried out thirty families and the equipment for their

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settlement. Her return cargo was 500 otter skins, 1,500 beavers, and other things which sold for 28,000 guilders, or about \$11,000. The first official report to the Government is as follows:

High and Mighty Lords:

Yesterday arrived here the ship "Arms of Amsterdam," which sailed from New Netherlands at the River Mauritius (the Hudson) on the twenty-third of September. They report that our people are in good heart and live in peace there; the women have borne some children there.

They have purchased the Island Manhattans from the Indians for the value of sixty guilders; it is eleven thousand morgens size. They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May and reaped by the middle of August. They send some samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, etc. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is 7,246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 minck skins, 36 wild cat skins, 33 mincks, 34 rat skins, and considerable oak timber and hickory.

Herewith, High and Mighty Lords, be commended to the Mercy of the Almighty.

To the High and Mighty Lords:

My Lords, The States General at the Hague.

Your High Mightinesses' Obedient,

(Signed) P. SCHAGER.

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This shows that in two years the trade had aboutdoubled—from\$11,000 in value of exports to \$20,000. Oak and hickory timber had been added to furs. This germ of a commerce which is now the most important in the Western Hemisphere, if not in the world, seems insignificant. That it has grown to its present magnitude in three centuries is an additional wonder of the world. During this period many cities and ports, famous and powerful then and in preceding centuries, have lost their commerce and decayed.

But our city has had a steady and uninterrupted growth. Part has been due to its wonderful natural advantages, but much to the enterprise and public spirit of its citizens. The construction of the Erie Canal opened up to settlement the vast territories around the Great Lakes and made them tributary to New York. The network of railways promoted and built by New York capital have emphasized for our city the ancient legend that all roads lead to Rome.

The West India Company published a table of its trade under the title "A list of returns from the New Netherlands, 1624 to 1635," but includes only beavers and other skins, and gives their values at 27,125 guilders in 1624, 35,825 in 1625, 68,001 in 1630, and 134,925 in 1635. The trade had grown in ten years from eleven thousand to fifty thousand dollars in these

articles alone. The imports of general merchandise for the colony kept pace with the exports and were about equal value during these years. The rules of the company were not favorable to general commerce, as they required that all trade, whether European or coastwise, carried by the colonists must be brought to the custom house in New York (then New Amsterdam) and pay a duty of 5 per cent.

While we are the heirs of all the ages, we inherit all the problems which our ancestors failed completely to solve. The currency question vexed our primitive fathers three hundred years ago as acutely as it has and still does ourselves. The people began to be troubled with this obstacle to their commercial interchanges almost immediately. Their principal trade was with the Indians in the purchase of furs and sale to them of merchandise.

The currency of the Indians was known as "sewan," or "wampum," consisting of beads made from shells. As the colonists had no mint to coin metals, this currency became common not only in dealing with the Indians, but among themselves. Six white or three black beads were equal to one stiver, a Dutch coin worth 2 cents of our money. As the trade of the colony extended to New England, the Yankees in dealing with the Dutch used this "sewan," or "wampum." The wampum mint of the colony was on Long Island, and the issue of this kind

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of money carefully guarded and restricted. But the enterprise and cunning of their Connecticut neighbors were soon evident. The colony was flooded with false wampum manufactured and put in circulation by the Yankees. As fiat money and free silver drive out gold, the same inexorable rule in infant New Amsterdam led to the good wampum being hoarded and disappearing. Stringent laws were passed, penalties imposed, and the Connecticut currency placed on a 50 per cent. basis compared with the Dutch.

Financial chaos was prevented by the English conquest of New Amsterdam in August, 1664. They changed the name from New Amsterdam to New York and introduced the gold standard, which happily has prevailed ever since. Thus history constantly repeats itself.

When old Governor Petrus Stuyvesant passed the city and colony over to the British in 1664, because he was compelled by the overwhelming force of the enemy, the city had four hundred houses and a population of about three thousand.

The value of the commerce of New Amsterdam when the British gained control was about \$50,000 annually in exports, mainly furs, and an equal amount of imports. The first official report in 1697 under the English flag gave the exports to the British Isles at £10,093, showing no growth, or about \$50,000. The Dutch merchants of New York had not adjusted them-

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selves to the breaking off of their relations with Holland and compulsory traffic with Great Britain. The exports of Virginia and Maryland for the same year were £220,758 in value, or nearly five times that of New York; New England £26,282, and South Carolina £12,374, exceeded New York by £2,370. New York supplied less than five per cent. of American exports at any time prior to the Revolutionary War. The value of the exports of all the American colonies to Great Britain, almost their only market, was in 1700 £395,000, of which New York sent £17,567. In 1750, £814,000, of which £35,663 only went from New York, and in 1773, the last year before the troubles began with the mother country which culminated in 1776, £1,000,369, of which £60,000 was contributed by New York.

After the Revolution, New York began to forge ahead, and in 1791 took fourth place among the exporting States. Pennsylvania came first with \$3,436,093, Virginia next with \$3,131,865, then Massachusetts with \$2,519,621, and New York with \$2,239,691. But in 1800 New York took the first place in the export trade. In the decade ending with 1800 New York supplied 19 per cent. of the exports from the United States; in the period ending with 1850, 26 per cent.; in 1860, 35 per cent., and the decade ending in 1880, 48 per cent.

In recent years new and vigorous competitors

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against New York have arisen because of the construction of north and south railways in the Mississippi Valley, our great and increasing exports to Mexico and Canada, and the multiplication of ports and their facilities and steamship lines. But against all these powerful diversions and local efforts New York's share of the export trade of the whole United States is still 40 per cent., and of the import trade 60 per cent. The total trade of New York in 1913 was \$2,000,000,000, nearly equally divided between export and import.

The exports from the United States in the Colonial period were mainly furs and timber, and later tobacco from the South. In 1803 our exports began to be varied and to show the expansion of our industries. Agriculture contributed \$30,000,000, the forests \$5,000,000, the fisheries \$2,500,000, and manufactures \$1,000,000. But it is in manufactures where we have made the most progress and rapid gains. Our surplus for export has grown from \$1,000,000 in 1800 to \$1,000,000,000 in 1913.

In 1800 the United States was fairly equipped to enter the competition for the commerce of the world with the old and highly organized industrial countries. In the succeeding half century steam had revolutionized navigation, the Erie Canal had opened the vast and fertile West, railroads were piercing the passes from the Atlantic coast to the interior.

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From 1800 to 1913 the commerce of Great Britain has grown from \$335,000,000 to \$5,500,000,000 a year; that of what is now the German Empire from \$108,000,000 to \$4,500,000,000, and that of the United States from \$85,000,000, in 1800 to \$4,500,000,000 in 1913. Stated in percentages, the trade of Great Britain and France is now eighteen times as much as in 1800, Germany twenty-four times as much, and the United States fifty times as much.

Three hundred years ago the commerce of New York began in a log hut built on the site of 39 Broadway for the storage of beaver and otter skins. Venice was still mistress of the seas; Genoa, with declining trade, was enjoying the luxuries of her accumulated riches; Great Britain and France were gaining commerce for their cities by battles and victories on sea and land; Spain was accumulating the wealth which proved her ruin from Mexico and South America; Peking and Moscow were controlling the productions of the Orient. Three centuries of unparalleled revolutions in the power of peoples, the boundaries of empires, inventions of steam and electricity have so altered the commercial highways of the world that ancient marts are archaeological museums and new centers have grown by leaps and bounds until they have accomplished more in a few generations than older cities in as many centuries.

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New York now becomes easily the greatest metropolis of the world while all other nations are involved in this awful and disastrous war. It is an opportunity which, in the interest of civilization and humanity, we profoundly regret. But with opportunity is coupled duty, and in the performance of that duty we help dependent peoples who are cut off from their sources of supply and keep open channels of commerce, needed alike by combatants and non-combatants. We should prepare for these great responsibilities. We should learn the wants of peoples whose commercial connections are paralyzed or suspended, and our manufacturers should expand their productions to meet the requirements of the world. The seas and ports of the earth should once more welcome an American merchant marine, the creation and growth of this miraculous opportunity.

We hope for peace, we pray for peace, and when it once more reigns and blesses we will hail with joy our rivals of all lands to an open door for the revival of their trade and commerce.

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Reminiscences and Remarks at the Meeting of the New York Genealogical and Bio- graphical Society

On the afternoon of January 8th, 1915, at a special meeting, the Society was honored by the presence of the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew and the Hon. Joseph H. Choate and an audience which filled the Hall.

Very appropriately, on this anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, the subject discussed by the distinguished speakers was the world war in Europe. Those who were present and those unfortunate enough to have missed the occasion will thank the Publication Committee for the following reproduction of the addresses in verbatim form.

In a few felicitous remarks, Mr. Bowen, the President, introduced Mr. Depew, who spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The task that has been imposed upon me is a pretty difficult one, as all the pages of all the press, with extra pages added, are twice a day trying to tell this story—to ask me to tell it in thirty-five minutes. I tell you it simply can't be done!

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MR. CHOATE: The whole hour is yours.
(Laughter.)

MR. DEPEW: I gave close study to this question when in Europe, and was one of that vast army who are now bursting their throats to death all over the country, narrating their experiences, some of which happened. (Laughter.)

It is a curious and interesting fact that this most frightful war of all centuries happens in the semi-centennial year of the Red Cross Society. The Red Cross Society is the only international organization since men submitted their disputes to the arbitrament of the sword which alleviates the sufferings and saves the lives of the wounded upon the battle-fields and in the hospitals, and of those who are invalided from exposure and hardship. The first of these organizations of mercy in a great war was the Sanitary Commission organized in the North soon after the beginning of our Civil War. Its work was so beneficent and effective that the fame of it became universal. This led, in 1864, fifty years ago, to representatives of seventeen nations meeting at Geneva and forming the Red Cross Society. The work of that Society has expanded and it has done incalculable service for mercy among the victims of earthquakes, floods, fires and other calamities which have been beyond the means of the neighborhood and have aroused the sympathy of the world.

When we look for the beginning of this

titanic struggle, we find its genesis in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The most wonderful constructive statesman of his generation and rarely equalled in any period was Bismarck. He was, at the beginning of the war and had been for many years, the Prime Minister and practical ruler of the Kingdom of Prussia. He had a great ambition to unite all the kingdoms, principalities, duchies and other separate governments of Germany into one Empire, under the leadership of Prussia, with the King of Prussia its Emperor.

Austria was the leader of the German Race. Bismarck picked a quarrel with Austria and in a short campaign won the victory at Sadowa which humbled Austria and transferred the leadership of the Germans to Prussia. He smashed King George of Hanover, tumbled him off his throne, seized his vast treasures, called the Guelph Fund, and annexed Hanover to Prussia. That Guelph Fund, Bismarck said frankly, years afterwards, enabled him to overcome the jealousies of the minor German States in forming his empire and securing the leadership to Prussia's King.

France had occupied for a long time the leading place in Europe in international influence, in literature, the arts and industries. To secure Germany the position held by France, it was necessary by war to crush the empire of the Third Napoleon. The corruptions of that

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government were so great and had so weakened the army and the patriotism of the people, that the conquest was not difficult, provided France could be isolated and the other great Powers induced to keep their hands off. Here came one of the greatest triumphs of diplomacy. Bismarck succeeded in so intensifying the fears and animosities between Great Britain and Russia that he brought them to the verge of war. Then, with a clear field, he invaded France and in a short campaign ended French Power at Sedan and crowned King William of Prussia Emperor of Germany at Versailles.

Having thus united the States of Germany, he thought it necessary for Germany's future development to render France helpless as to power or influence. He imposed in the Treaty of Peace terms so severe that not only Bismarck, but all the statesmen of Europe, felt that it would be impossible for France ever to rise to a position where she would be a factor, except under the dictation of Germany, in the affairs of Europe. He took from France her two richest provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, and annexed them to Germany. He imposed a fine upon France, called an indemnity, of a magnitude greater by far than ever had been exacted from a defeated enemy. He demanded a milliard of francs, or a thousand millions of dollars in gold, to be paid at stated intervals, within a definite period.

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To France, deprived of two of the best contributors to her finances, staggering under the frightful debt incurred in carrying on the war, piled onto the debt which was the inheritance of Napoleonic wars, Bourbon extravagance and Third Empire corruption, this fine or indemnity seemed, in the opinion of Europe, to condemn France to hopeless poverty for generations. Then occurred the miracle of the nations. The French people found, in their savings, in their stockings, under their hearths, in the hiding places of their peasants and working people and in the credit of their bankers, the gold to pay to Germany this thousand millions of dollars in an incredibly short time. Relieved of the German army, which was kept in France to enforce the payment of the indemnity, the French people, with an energy, hopefulness, resourcefulness and spirit never equalled, bent their individual and united energies to the resurrection and rehabilitation of their country. They began to be the bankers of Europe. They loaned to Russia two thousand millions of dollars, and hundreds of millions to other countries. At the same time they have perfected their railway systems, their telegraphs and telephones, and other vast works of public improvement, and organized and maintained an army equal on a peace footing to that of Germany, and a navy the third in the world. Bismarck and, after him, the present Emperor and his advisers,

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became alarmed at this miraculous revival of French national spirit and achievement and the demonstration of its financial and economic ability. Some years after peace, I have been informed by English statesmen, the Emperor laid before Queen Victoria, who, as you know, was his grandmother, the danger to England as well as Germany by this ever-increasing power of France. He asked that Germany be given a free hand to rectify the mistake made by the terms of peace, and to reduce France by another war. Queen Victoria said, "No," with an emphasis which was final and induced Russia to deliver an equally emphatic negative.

Return now to the German Empire and its progress and ideals during these forty-four years. The separate nationalities of states which made up the German Empire in 1870 were poor and the victims of jealousies and animosities of centuries, of warring dynasties and religious revolutions. To the young Empire, thus situated, came this enormous gift of one thousand millions of dollars in gold. It came to be administered for the uplift of Germany by men of extraordinary administrative and executive ability. Bismarck was succeeded by the present Emperor, who has demonstrated in his twenty-five years the highest qualities of a Ruler in the development of his Empire's resources and industries, and the expansion of its opportunities for trade and commerce.

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We Americans speak boastfully, and yet our boasts are plain truths in regard to the progress and growth of our country since the end of the Civil War. But the advancement of Germany, industrially and commercially, during the same period, has been quite as remarkable. Prior to that time, the congestion of population forced German emigration all over the world. Bismarck said to a friend of mine, "To provide for the German cradle, we must expand in territory. We must have colonies for our surplus population." The stimulated industries of Germany have so well taken care of her increasing numbers of people that immigration has almost ceased. The Empire has become a vast workshop. It is supplying, not only the needs of the German people, but is entering the markets of the world in successful competition, not only with Great Britain but with all other highly organized industrial nations.

Under the impetus and inspiration of the Emperor, Germany has built up from insignificant numbers the second greatest mercantile marine in the world. She has become in power and equipment second as a Naval Power. Her Navy and her mercantile marine, working together for the expansion of her commerce, have given her, from an unplaced position forty-four years ago, a commanding influence in supplying the needs and meeting the markets of South and Central America, of Africa and of Asia. She

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has entered into formidable competition in the domestic markets of Great Britain and her colonies and of the United States. Through her state-owned railroads, the German Government has become a partner in every industry in her empire, not only for encouragement but assistance, in the export of her products. Her banking resources have advanced with equal strides and most intelligent administration. Her schools have specially prepared the advance agents of her industries to study the wants and meet the requirements of civilized, barbaric and semi-savage people of different races and continents. Her universities have become the admiration of other nations, and places of pilgrimage for their young men. She has created a military system upon a basis of universal, compulsory service never equalled. This has made for her a dominant military class and caused her to be the foremost of military powers. Though she had already the greatest military establishment of any nation, this last year, when the General Staff asked for two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, to place the army far and away in advance of all others, the amount was voted unanimously by a tax upon the capital of the country and not upon its income. The industrial and intellectual classes have put the military in supreme power in their government. The industrial classes and the financial interests believe their safety and prosperity are in the

largest and the strongest army they are capable of supporting, while the teachers of the land have been instructing the youth of every age in the necessity of German power and the right by might of the expansion of German ambitions and ideals. Here we have the spark which required only the match to set the world aflame.

I came recently upon a passage in the works of Heinrich Heine, who ranks next to Goethe and Schiller in influence upon German thought, written in 1834, the year in which I was born.

* "Christianity—and this is its highest merit—has in some degree softened, but it could not destroy, the brutal German joy of battle. When once the taming talisman, the Cross, breaks in two, the savagery of the old fighters, the senseless Berserker fury, of which the Northern poets sing and say so much, will gush up anew. That talisman is decayed and the day will come when it will piteously collapse.

Then the old stone gods will rise from the silent ruins and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes. Thor, with his giant's hammer, will at last spring up and shatter to bits the Gothic Cathedrals."

It is hardly possible to estimate the influence of the philosophy of Nietzsche and its subse-

* From "Germania," by Heinrich Heine. Leland's English translation, Vol. I, pp. 207-8; New York, J. W. Lovell, 1892.

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quent enforcement in the long service in the universities of Treitschke upon German thought and action. Their philosophy was "might makes right"; that German culture is the necessity of the world; that nothing should be permitted to stand in the way of the attainment by Germany of what the Emperor would call "her place in the sun," so treaties become scraps of paper.

In further illustration and more immediately practical, a relative of mine, of superior talent and acquirement, was a student in one of the German universities—a student in laboratory work—came in close contact with the professors. The talk of the professors at recess was that war was a necessity for Germany; that she was not only threatened by Russia on one side and France on the other, but was so cramped and confined that she must expand; that Belgium could offer no obstacle, and, as Germany was prepared to the highest point of efficiency, France could be conquered in six weeks; then, with Belgium and Holland naturally falling into the Empire, Germany would have a coast line and harbors on the English Channel; that England was not a military nation and, under those conditions, could be easily invaded, but, before that, she would necessarily see that she must yield to Germany her supremacy of the seas and give to Germany her unquestioned right of the foremost place in the markets of the world.

Thus a barrier would be raised against an invasion of Europe by Russian barbarism, and German culture, intellectual, mercantile, financial and industrial, would lead the world. They also said that while they wanted to keep on friendly terms with the United States, Germany could not submit to exclusion from South America and the Pacific Ocean because of the Monroe Doctrine. There is no question but what these learned gentlemen clearly and frankly expressed what is the honest belief of every man and woman in the German Empire.

Now, at this critical juncture, what was the position of Great Britain and France? The internal situation in Great Britain was more intense and perilous than it had been in generations. It was the belief of most Englishmen, and of all foreign observers, that Civil War was imminent. The Ulster men had been armed and trained by experienced soldiers and mustered over one hundred thousand. They were sworn to resist home rule to the last man. The Southern Irish, to the number of over a hundred thousand, were arming and drilling to enforce home rule. All efforts on the part of the leaders of the different parties to come to an understanding and peaceful solution had failed. The King had called them all together at Buckingham Palace and, after days of most earnest consultation, the meeting had dissolved; the government could find no compromise and the King despaired.

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The German Ambassador informed his government that civil war was inevitable. Sir Edward Carson, the leader of Ulster, left the conference and went to Belfast, where he reviewed an immense army, thoroughly armed and drilled, accompanied by their women as they marched, all singing as a battle cry the old Covenanter's hymn:

“O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope in time to come,”

while Mr. Redmond had gone South to meet an equally enthusiastic and determined army.

Nobody in England, under those conditions, dreamed of a European war.

France had the largest debt with which any country had ever been burdened. It amounted to six thousand millions of dollars. France had to raise nearly two hundred millions of dollars a year in interest on her debt before she had anything for her army, her navy and her civil requirements. She had been so frightened as to the purposes of Germany, because of threats in Morocco, of Algeciras and Agadir, that she had strained her resources to the uttermost, with only thirty-eight millions of people, to keep an army as large as Germany with sixty-eight millions. She had reached her limit. The ablest financiers in France said to me last summer: “Our financial position is perilous. The strain of governmental requirements and increasing

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taxes is threatening our industrial prosperity and financial stability." Nobody in France, under those conditions, wanted war, and everybody looked upon its possibilities with horror. One of the most eminent of French statesmen said to me: "In our efforts to keep peace, we have not permitted our troops to approach within eight kilometers of the frontier, while Germany has crossed the frontier in several places and occupied positions of strategic importance."

Austria, of course, was, in her diplomacy and international relations, controlled entirely by Germany. Russia had not yet recovered from the effects of her war with Japan. Her financial situation was acute. Her internal troubles great. There were serious strikes, accompanied by violence, in her factories and mines, which were not industrial but revolutionary. Russia was in no condition to declare war.

It was this situation, in these various countries, which misled the military party in Germany into believing that the time had come for an immediate and successful war.

The military mind, in control of government, is always a peril to its peace. It knows its own power, but has a contempt of the forces of a possible enemy, and no broad, diplomatic or statesmanlike comprehension of the situation in other countries. The military party believed Belgium neither could nor would offer any oppo-

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sition to the German armies marching across Belgium to the practically undefended part, next to Belgium, of the French frontier. It did not believe that France could resist a successful invasion, and that another Sedan was certain to happen on the anniversary of the Sedan triumph of 1870. They believed that it would be impossible for Russia to seriously attack the German frontier. They thought England entirely out of any possible interference or any effort to help France or to aid Belgium, because she had her hands full with her domestic troubles and possible revolution.

So Austria was told to go ahead against Serbia, for the Austrian Government was in a state of frenzy because of the assassination by Servians of the Archduke Ferdinand and his wife, the Archduke being the heir of the aged Emperor of Austria.

The Austrian Emperor, after a long, remarkable and successful reign, during which he alone had been able to hold together the many conflicting races and elements of the dual empire, was in his eighty-fourth year and the idol of his people. In a remarkable proclamation, he called upon them to rally to the national standards, to punish the people who, as he said, "have been for years insulting and injuring me and my house." Never was there such a fateful message. Never were a few words weighted with such terrible consequences.

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As always, when racial and religious passions are stirred, the unexpected happened. Russia, kindred in blood and religion with Servia, was swept by a wave embracing all classes, loyalists and revolutionists, patriots and anarchists, Grand Dukes and the peasants, in a Holy War. The Czar, who had not appeared publicly in the streets of his capital for many years, rode about everywhere in an open carriage, to be hailed by the populace as the Saviour of Fatherland, Servian Brethren and the Orthodox Religion.

Russia began to mobilize, notwithstanding the threat of Germany that, if she did, war would be declared, and Germany promptly declared war. Luxemburg and Belgium, though protected by treaties, were instantly invaded by the German armies. France mobilized. England declared war, ostensibly to defend her faith and honor, pledged to Belgium, but equally for her faith pledged to France, and, above all, a belief that in the struggle, whether she entered or not, was involved the existence of her empire.

The weight of condemnation of this frightful condition and situation had fallen upon the German Emperor. After a careful study, I do not believe that the responsibility rests wholly with him. A bit of gossip from a very high source, with intimate knowledge and touch with conditions in the German governing class, came to me. It was that, when the Emperor had

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secured the two hundred and fifty millions of armament and had perfected the military machine, he felt that Germany was safe. He then took his usual vacation on his yacht in the North Sea. The Crown Prince was the leader of the war party. He was enthusiastically seconded by his five brothers. The war party included the whole of the General Staff and had the sympathy of the German People of all classes. That the sons said: "If you go ahead and get ready for war, we will help you in bringing the Emperor (the gossip said, 'the old man') around when he returns." When he did return, he was swept off his feet.

This year is the centenary of the birth of Bismarck, and of Waterloo and St. Helena for Napoleon. After a hundred years, most of the ideas which these master spirits represented are in death grips in the most disastrous war of the ages. Its result may determine for the future whether Napoleon and the democracy of the French Revolution or Bismarck and absolutism shall govern the world.

This is an age of marvels. They are so wonderful and frequent that we are no longer astonished at anything. It is within the bounds of possibility, if not expectation, that forces can be found strong enough to pierce the ether of the universe in which move in harmony suns and planets and constellations. Astronomers say that Mars is like our earth and inhabited.

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If so, the people undoubtedly worship the Prince of Peace. If the Martian philosopher could now communicate with our world, he would discover this astonishing situation:

There are about one thousand six hundred millions of people upon the globe. Nine hundred millions of them are now at war, killing each other and destroying each other's cities, villages and homes. These nine hundred millions comprise eight-tenths of the professing Christians of the world. The only peoples who are not involved are the United States, the Republics of Central and South America, Spain, Holland, some of the wild tribes of Asia and of Central Africa, the Scandinavian countries and the Esquimaux. I do not include Mexico, which is in a state of Civil War.

Is, then, Christianity a failure? I say NO, a thousand times, NO. God moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. He teaches the people full knowledge of right and wrong, and leaves them the largest liberty in their conduct and actions. They assume, with their eyes open and fully conscious of the consequences, the violation of Divine Law. The Old Testament History is filled with examples of the punishment which would have followed this kind of disobedience.

There are plenty of illustrations in Modern History. The most significant is our own Civil War. We all knew slavery to be the sum of all

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crimes. We tolerated it and supported it, legislated for its protection and put the whole power of the government behind it, for nearly a century. Then came, swift and terrible, the conflict between different civilizations and ideals, and, at a cost of a half million of lives, the slaves were emancipated. The Republic, freed, entered upon a career of liberty, humanity and prosperity which, in the half century since the close of the Civil War, has made the United States the freest and most powerful of governments, and our people the happiest of all the nations.

The governments of Europe have been for years violating Divine and Human Law. They have been training, beyond reason, millions of their young men for war and teaching them the righteousness of the doctrine that "might makes right." They have violated treaties which are as solemn and binding upon nations, as contracts and honorable obligations are upon individuals.

Passion, hatred, vindictiveness, cruelty and bloodthirst are working their worst, but, as in our Civil War, there will come, from this conflict, national sanity, the end of militarism as a controlling power in government and the reign of the people, by whose voice alone can, thereafter, nations be plunged into war.

Some incidents connected with my personal contact with the beginning of the war may be illuminating. I was in Geneva with my family. On the first of August I went to the bank to draw

money and was informed, not only by that bank but by all others in Geneva, that they were paying out no money upon Letters of Credit or bankers' or express checks or even Bank of England notes. There had been no sign of war, and everything was still going on as usual in Geneva and had been the day before at Berne, the capital of Switzerland. I made up my mind, from long experience, that when bankers shut their doors and lock their safes, they either actually or psychologically know of trouble. I found a train left for Paris in two hours, secured a compartment and then informed my family. I was instantly up against the most serious crisis in my domestic life. How were two ladies and their servants to pack their trunks in two hours? The thing was impossible. Any mere man ought to know that this was a work not of hours, but of days. However, we caught the train. While standing in the crowd on the station platform, I heard a conversation which relieved the tension. They were two English maiden ladies of the spinster type seen often in *Punch*, but rarely met with. One said to the other, in a high key and a sharp voice, holding in her hand a five-pound note: "Sarah, was there ever such an outrage? Here is an English bank note, which has been good all over the world since Christ came to earth, and these Swiss pigs won't change it." (Laughter.) This was the last train which left Switzerland for France

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for the next month. The French trains were all used by the government for the mobilization of the army. The movement of the train was normal, until it stopped at the first station in France. There was a notice on the wall, on a paper, about three feet square, calling all men between certain ages, instantly, to the colors. About twenty were there to take the train. The station master told me that notice had been up only one hour. At the next station, where it had been posted for three hours, there were five hundred prepared to go. They filled our train, until cars were added, making it so heavy that, instead of reaching Paris at ten o'clock that night, we did not arrive until five on Sunday morning, the 2d of August.

They stood in the aisles so thick that movement was impossible. The women with them fainted and were taken into our compartment until we were as close as sardines in a box. Every time I put my head out of the door of the compartment for air, these recruits, taking me, on account of my side-whiskers, to be an Englishman, waved their arms and yelled, "Vive l'entente cordiale!"

Similar scenes of those liable to military duty from the neighborhoods were taking place at every station, all over France. Most of these men, as I saw them, were in the late twenties and early thirties, and had begun to make a safe position for themselves and their families in

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their various vocations. They represented every walk in life, professional men, farmers, shopkeepers, artisans and laborers. They had dropped everything. I heard many instances where shopkeepers were unable to collect what was due them or pay what they owed, and their accumulated and active capital dropped out of existence as if swallowed by an earthquake. Their farewells had been hasty to their families, but I did not hear a single regret or complaint. Each man thought that upon him, in a measure, rested the fate of his country.

When we arrived in Paris, the government had taken almost all of the automobiles, taxicabs and cabs where the horse was able to walk. We finally secured a cab which was like Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's famous "One Hoss Shay," and a horse whose bones belonged to the crows. The ordinary fare to the hotel, the day before, was two francs. The ancient driver demanded forty and got it.

Though it was so early in the morning, the cafes were all open and the side-walk tables all filled with crowds of men and women. They had been there all night. The men, obeying the notice to join the colors, the women, their mothers, wives, sisters or sweethearts, waiting to bid them good-bye as their trains left, neither knowing if they would ever meet again.

It was strange to see Paris, which I had left two weeks before, never so gay, never so

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crowded, never so brilliant, never so ideally like Paris at its best, while now, the stores were all closed, except the provision shops, the streets empty and a general air of a city in a state of siege.

Now, as to the spirit of the people. I have spoken of Germany. We must remember that every man, woman and child in Germany, France, Russia, Belgium and Great Britain think their country absolutely right and that they are fighting and suffering in a Holy War.

The old man who waited upon me at the hotel said: "My only son went yesterday. I am sorry I did not have more." I secured with difficulty a man 'way in the sixties as a chauffeur. He said: "My four sons have just left me for the war. I wish I was able to go myself. This means life or death for France and for all of us. Do you think England will help? If she don't, we can't win alone."

I met a lady whose name stands high in the roll of famous statesmen and soldiers of France for a thousand years. I never met such a picture of concentrated and intelligent sacrifice and determination. She said: "My husband went to the war this morning. My brothers went last evening. My boy is only eight or I would send him. If we are beaten, France disappears as a Nation; our glorious past is a memory. We lose everything which makes life worth the living, and there is no future for our

children. If England will help, we can succeed, but not alone. Will England help?" This was the wistful cry which went up from every soldier, statesman and from every home in France.

I never can forget the scene when England declared war and announced her loyalty and faith with France, Belgium and Russia. It is the greatest privilege which has ever come to men to have lived and been active participants in the events of the last sixty years. There has been no such period in recorded time. In liberty, humanity, social service and on the material side in inventions and discoveries, it has crystallized into achievement the dreams and aspirations of all the centuries.

But it is a supreme opportunity to have felt and shared those emotions of all the peoples of a nation, and sometimes of the world, which lifted our common human nature into the rarer atmosphere of brotherhood and hope.

As a boy, I used to attend the camp meetings in the woods. The movement was in charge of intensely religious leaders and members. When the Evangelist had brought his whole congregation, including the strangers who came from curiosity, to their knees, there was a moment when voices were uplifted and raised in the ecstasy of belief that Heaven had opened and salvation was sure. Such was the sentiment which swept over and uplifted the French when England declared her friendship and support.

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When I left England for France and Switzerland, there was universal gloom. No one believed that Civil War could be averted. Sir Edward Carson in the North, and Mr. Redmond in the Center and South of Ireland, were marshaling their armies for the war. When I returned, a month afterwards, the English and the Irish, the Scotch and Welsh, were singing, "God save the King," and all parties volunteering to the colors.

Ancient history is an interesting study. It amuses, interests and instructs those who have time to read, but arouses no interest or passion. Yet, there stands out one effort of heroism, patriotism and sacrifice which thrills and inspires each succeeding generation as it did the Greeks, three thousand years ago. It is the story of the Three Hundred who died at Thermopylæ. So, when the tragedies, victories, defeats and settlements, after the war, have been forgotten, except by the student and the librarian, the boys in the schools and in the academies, the scholars in the universities, the preachers in the pulpits, the statesmen in the forum, will thrill and be thrilled by the unequalled heroism, the unparalleled sacrifices and the indomitable courage of little Belgium. Her cities, villages and isolated homes have been burned and ravaged. Millions of her people, men, women and children, are starving by the roadside with no roof but the skies and no bed but the ground. Their government is in exile, but the prayers, which is all

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these devoted sufferers have left to give, is with their sons, their brothers, their husbands and their fathers, who are illustrating the finest courage of all the ages in trenches and on the battlefields.

We cannot dwell too long upon the horrors of this war.

When it was possible to leave Paris, the city was in a state of siege. It required passports, a certificate of residence and character from the landlord of your hotel, and permission from the police to leave. When my party arrived in the inclosure of the Prefecture of Police, there were several thousands waiting to secure these permits. There was only one official to grant them, and he took ten minutes for each applicant, because the form was the one used to identify suspicious persons. He asked and recorded the height of each individual, the color of the hair and of the eyes, the contour of the face, the shape of the nose. My wife has never forgiven him for putting on her certificate and in his book a nose she never had. I saw that it might take three days or a week to get our papers, and yet we were passed around the outskirts of the crowd and through the offices first. Our unpopularity was intense and the protests disagreeable from the angry crowd. How did we do it? I can only say I was born in Peekskill, Westchester County, on the Hudson, and that explains the trick. (Laughter.)

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We found a train, leaving at ten in the evening, but not scheduled. By the same "Peekskill" methods, we secured a compartment, and entered the trainyard with the mail wagons. We should have been at Boulogne in four hours, but did not arrive until five the next morning. There were no vehicles, and we tramped in the rain, leaving our baggage behind, for forty minutes, until we reached the pier. We were compelled to remain there in the rain eight hours before we were permitted on board the Channel Boat. The reason given by the officers of the boat was that nobody had ever been permitted to come on board until after the decks were swabbed, and the decks had never, during forty years, been swabbed before twelve o'clock. The most hidebound, conservative "Stand pater" in the crowd became a progressive. I did not stand the whole time, because, for an hour, I found a reserved seat on the step of a freight car. When, finally, we were permitted to board the boat, there was a rush as if for life, though we all knew she would not sail for two hours. Most of the men carried suitcases and traveling bags, with which they mercilessly banged those ahead. The situation was relieved, however, when I heard a weary voice behind me say, "My God, Julia, only to think that we left Pittsburgh for this!" (Laughter.) England, with its welcome and hospitality, its air of peace, security and content, its uninter-

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rupted daily life in every department, business, social, amusements and Sunday normal, was a wonderful relief and gratification. The Americans who deserve the greatest credit were the thousands of men and women, mostly school teachers, whose tickets were worthless and their money gone. Their courage and patience were beyond praise. The American Committee for relief to our countrymen and countrywomen in London and Paris performed most intelligent and helpful service in sustaining and sending home the needy.

Our Ambassadors and Diplomatic Representatives in the war zone have won high praise and deserve all honor. This is especially true of Ambassador Herrick in Paris, Page in London, and Van Dyke at the Hague, Gerard in Berlin, Penfield in Vienna, and Whitlock in Brussels. I have no doubt the others in the war zone did splendidly, but their work did not come under my observation.

I heard a delightful story about one of the diplomats whose genius for diplomacy had been discovered by the unerring judgment of Mr. Bryan, though hidden from his neighbors. It was said that his wife was asked how they enjoyed their new honors. She answered: "It's all very lovely, but people are too kind. We scarcely ever went out at home, but my husband, poor dear, since we have been here, has not had his dress coat off his back or his knife out of his mouth." (Laughter.)

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There is salvation, even in the midst of war tragedies, in the sense and practice of humor. All the combatants who heard of it, whether Allies or Germans, were laughing. It seems the Burgomaster, Max, of Brussels, is a confirmed joker. When the German Army took possession of the city, the General commanding ordered the Burgomaster to come to his headquarters. When the Burgomaster entered and was assigned his seat opposite the General, the General took his revolver out of his belt and placed it on the table with the muzzle towards the Burgomaster and said, "Sir, I am now ready for business." The Burgomaster pulled out his stylographic pen and placed it on the table, with the pen pointing towards the General, and answered, "General, so am I." (Laughter.)

What of the future? The war will end as suddenly as it began. The parties to any settlement will be so full of the passions, vindictiveness and revenges of this most brutal and destructive of all the contests of history, that they can make a peace only upon terms which will give time, rest and recuperation for a renewal of the fighting. We must be a party to this settlement, and upon us devolves the gravest responsibility.

The public opinion of the world has been effective in averting a serious crisis. It prevailed in the peace between the Balkan States and Turkey, and the Balkan States themselves,

which prevented an imminent European war. But the United States has the only public opinion which will have influence with either side. The South and Central American republics have been too recently in revolution. In Mexico Huerta has been deposed and exiled, and in his place is general chaos. Spain is too nearly related, and Italy too closely involved, with China a negligible quantity in the affairs of the world. All the hostile nations are earnestly arguing their claims, their rights and the rectitude of their action in the American press and through every medium of American opinion.

A wonderful opportunity has come to the United States for the expansion of its commerce in South America and the Orient. It is a duty as well as an opportunity, for these people require a large number of necessities which they neither produce nor manufacture and which have come to them from the belligerent nations. But in occupying this field we will act in the broadest spirit of comity. When peace is declared and the warring nations, exhausted and demoralized, are reorganizing their industries for the rescue of their people, we will welcome them to an open door in the markets of the world.

It would be a fearful calamity if the efforts, subtle and direct, to involve the United States in this war, were successful. It is the duty of all our people to support President Wilson in the maintenance of our neutrality.

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But our largest and most comprehensive responsibility is to impress upon the negotiators, the victor and the vanquished, that, for the first time in the history of the world, an agreement for disarmament can be made. It must not be left in the power of a class to declare war, but that must be the right only of the sovereign people. The Hague Tribunal can be so enlarged that it will become an international parliament to which must be submitted all disputes between governments, and with an international force on sea and land to compel acquiescence to its decisions and decrees. Then out of this war will come blessings never dreamed of as possible. Its sacrifices, slaughter, ruin and untold sufferings will be forgotten in the happiness and hope which will come from the era of Peace on Earth and Good Will toward Men.

One of the most important lessons of this war to us is necessity of preparedness, preparedness for attack and preparedness to prevent any nation thinking of attacking our country, preparedness as an insurance against war and an assurance of peace. The fact that a few far-sighted statesmen were able to persuade the Socialists of France to allow her an army of seven hundred and fifty thousand men fully equipped with every modern engine of war is all that stopped the German drive which would have captured Paris and brought France into complete subjection. Instead of enjoying the

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fruits and prospects of her marvelous demonstration of unity, patriotism and sacrifice, she would be paying enormous indemnities and forced tributes, and her people in the awful conditions of the Belgians and the Poles. Had England believed war possible and possessed an adequate army, there would have been no war.

Mr. Bryan says the time to prepare is after the invasion has begun, then the farmers with their shotguns will overcome shrapnel shells and lydite bombs and the machine guns and drive the disciplined veterans of the enemy into the sea, shooting them in masses from behind fences and through the spokes of the wheels of their Ford cars.

Secretary Bryan's sure remedy is to build twelve broad macadamized highways across the Continent. Then, if the enemy gained a foothold, citizens and automobiles could concentrate from all over the country. But it does not occur to our champion pacifist that the armored cars of the enemy would sweep these highways, and, if fired on, would burn every house and shoot every man armed or unarmed within miles of the roads on either side.

It is not difficult to draw the line between aggressive and defensive preparedness. There is a wide difference between militarism and a disciplined nucleus on land and a force always ready and large enough on the sea to protect our homes, our commerce, our coasts and our ports.

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At the conclusion of Mr. Depew's remarks, Mr. Choate spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: In the first place, let me correct a false impression. I am not going to make an address. Anybody who undertakes to make an address after an oration from Mr. Depew—why, it is like grinding on a hand organ after an overture on the colossal organ of the cathedral, and I can't do it. I speak by the card, and I am only going to do what I was asked to do—make a few remarks; and the card says "Tea at five o'clock." It now wants ten minutes of five, and the President told me that under no circumstances was the audience to remain in this room, or anything to be said, after five o'clock, and tea is the very appropriate immediate sequel to one of Mr. Depew's speeches (laughter), because it is like his speeches—the thing that cheers but not inebriates.

And then, Mr. Bowen had promised to make a speech. It has been a little disappointing; his speech was altogether too short. When he speaks it is always to the purpose. I class him always with the sons of Zebedee, as one of the Boanerges, because whatever he does is always a success. Didn't he set his hand last year to raising \$65,000, so as to buy the adjoining building, and give us a room for a fit auditorium? He did it in less than three months. And he has got it locked up somewhere

(laughter) drawing compound interest. And I am sure he will never call upon us to meet again in this room. These gentlemen on the platform have all got cold feet. (Laughter.) They are all dreading bronchitis or pneumonia, for while they have their backs to the wall, the wall is made up of nothing but windows.

Now I have a duty to perform this afternoon. I was brought here for a special purpose, and that is to move the initiation of the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew into the fraternity of honorary members of The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. (Applause.) I believe I have been authorized and instructed to tender that distinguished honor to him and to welcome him to the Brotherhood, and to put to the vote of this company whether he shall be admitted. Those in favor?

I heard no *noes*. The vote was unanimous.

Now it was my pleasure to make the acquaintance of the Kaiser, William II, a good many years ago in London. I met him there occasionally, but he was always on his good behavior, because we met in the presence of his grandmother or his uncle Edward. And I never supposed he was going to be such a scourge to mankind as some people now think he is. What I think myself I won't say. I am bound by the statute of neutrality and by the interpretation of that statute as laid down by our distinguished President at Washington.

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I have been perfectly delighted to hear from Mr. Depew his experience as a refugee. (Laughter.) I have heard a great many of the refugees, and they all told the same story before. I never heard one that varied until he spoke this afternoon. They all had the same experience, and each one seemed to think that he or she was the only one that had had any experience at all. But his experience was most delightful and most instructive.

Now, let me speak about the spirit of the English people. It is perfectly magnificent the courage and the spirit of endurance and hope with which they are bearing the terrible struggle in which they are engaged, and especially the mothers of England, and the women of England. I don't think anything more grand has ever been witnessed on the face of the earth.

Let me give you one or two instances of how the families, the mothers and the fathers take it. I saw by the paper the other day that one of the four sons of an old friend of mine in England, a very distinguished woman, had been killed on the field of battle, and I wrote her a letter of sympathy and condolence, and I immediately received a reply which was perfectly magnificent. I wish I had it here to read to you. She says, "Yes, we had four sons, three in the army and one in the navy. The one that you write about is dead, and we are very proud of it, and we are glad to have been

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able to give him to the service of his country. Another one has been taken prisoner six weeks ago, and we have not the least idea whether he is dead or alive; and the third is wounded; and the fourth is safe on one of the ships of war that has not yet encountered the Germans. But we count it as a very great prize, a very splendid reward to say that we have been able thus to devote all our sons if necessary to the service of the Allies in this cause."

Well, then, I heard another story from the lips of the man himself, the father of six sons. He said he had four sons already in the service, and he was very proud of it. The fifth son was twelve years old and at school, and he came to him one day with tears in his eyes and he says, "Father, now talking as man to man (laughter), was there ever anything meaner than that the Inspectors turned me down and refused to let me enter the service simply because I was only twelve years old?" No! You may depend upon it that England is determined never to submit or yield, and she never will submit or yield until she has reached the point where she can say that this devil of militarism has been so completely subdued that it will never trouble the world again.

We met at the Hague eight years ago, on the 15th of June, 1907, for the purpose of devising measures that would preserve the peace of the world for all time. We agreed to a

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great many things there, and everything seemed very auspicious at the time. The gates of the Temple of Janus were closed—closed was it, or open? I never can remember which. (Laughter.) At any rate, the fact was that peace existed throughout the world. There was not a single nation, savage or civilized, that was engaged in war, and so it continued during the four months that our deliberations continued.

The representative of the Kaiser was there, and his conduct seemed a little queer. In the first place Germany refused to enter into the conference at all unless it was upon the understanding that the question of the suppression of armaments was not pressed, and the English representative made a statement, as he was permitted to do, of the reasons why Great Britain thought that the suppression of armaments ought to be agreed upon by the nations, and our delegation said amen to that, and the subject was laid aside. Well, then, all through the conference there was evidently a hidden struggle, not manifested by words at any moment, on the great question whether the British Channel was to be kept open or made possible to be closed; Germany upon the one side, and Great Britain upon the other; Great Britain wanting to keep the Channel open so as to permit the feeding of her population under all circumstances, whenever war might

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arise, however long it might be protracted, Germany wishing to be permitted at any time to make all possible efforts to close it if she could. She tried to close it the other day by getting down to Calais, but she never got there, and she never will. (Applause.)

Mr. Depew is right in saying that the future is ours—I've got two minutes more.—Let me say that: The future is ours, and I can see only two possible benefits that will arise to us from this terrible conflict. One is that we shall be able to serve as peacemakers when the time comes. I don't think the time has come yet. I was glad to see that even the New York Peace Society said yesterday in an address that it was not time to talk about peace yet. And we shall be the one great—recognized as the one great power in the world, and we shall be called upon I have no doubt, to advise and assist and perhaps to suggest the terms of peace. And that will be a very great service that we can render to mankind.

And, then, another thing is that this war is going to make us all a great deal poorer, and it will put an end to some of that frightful extravagance and luxury now depreciating the character and quality of our young men and women, especially in New York. (Applause.) Poker and bridge and the tango are too much for the education of our young people, and I think that all such extravagances as these, as

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a part of the education of American youth, will be put an end to.

Now the time has come—I see you all look a little thirsty. (Laughter.) The teapot is boiling, and if I trespassed upon your patience a moment longer, I should be violating the instructions of the President, and my oath of office. (Applause.)

Dinner Given by the Lotos Club in Honor of
Ambassador Myron T. Herrick, January
9, 1915.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

When I was a member of the United States Senate and the constitutional power of that body to be consulted in the matter of appointments for Federal Offices was recognized as effective by the President, I called at the White House and requested that an Ambassador, a New Yorker and a constituent who had performed brilliant service and won international fame, might be continued for another term. The President said: "I recognize, fully, the conspicuous ability and distinguished services of your ambassador, but I have a theory in regard to diplomatic appointments. They are the only way in which the government can recognize, reward and decorate eminent citizens. In England, they grant baronets and peerages. In France, the Legion of Honor. In Germany, the Orders of Different Colored Eagles. We have nothing but diplomatic positions abroad. So, my idea is to recall all our ambassadors and ministers; they can still enjoy at home the rank, socially, of having held these places and other worthy citizens

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who will appreciate the honor can have it conferred upon them." "In my judgment," continued the President, "these positions are more ornamental than useful, and the principal business can be carried on by cable between the Secretary of State and the foreign office of any country with whom we have trouble." From my own experience and observation, during the half century I have been going abroad, I know the President was mistaken. Services to our country, of incalculable value in settling disputes, avoiding misunderstandings and preventing dangerous complications and possibly war, have been rendered by our representatives abroad. Their tact and diplomacy and the incalculable influence of personal negotiation have proved the value of the office.

I remember well when "my Lord, that means war," said by Charles Francis Adams to Lord John Russell, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, prevented England's interference on behalf of the Southern Confederacy and saved, for a time, if not for all time, the cause of the Union.

Americans recall, with pride, the brilliant work in the cause of international good-will and the preservation of our peace, which has just rounded its hundredth year between the United States and Great Britain, of Lowell, Phelps, Lincoln, Choate and Reid.

We have with us, as our guest, Ambassador Herrick, the most conspicuous refutation of the

President's thought and illustration of what can be done for his country and his countrymen by an American Ambassador.

When I look at the large number of ex-ambassadors who have come here to join in this tribute to Ambassador Herrick, I think I must assert my claim to be the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps of the United States.

Fifty years ago, as I approached the Post Office in my native village of Peekskill, I saw an unusually large and interested crowd gathered there. The postmaster was a true type of that functionary, in every village in the country, who becomes popular with the neighborhood by revealing to everybody all the secrets which come to him from an inspection of the mail. He was showing to the crowd a huge envelope, bearing the seal and superscription of the State Department and addressed to me. No such document had ever been seen in the village. It was my commission as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Japan and a letter from Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, requesting me to come to Washington as soon as possible and receive my instructions. I was not an applicant for the office. Except from Commodore Perry's report, I had never heard of Japan. I consulted the wise men of the village. The Principal of the Academy said there was nothing in his library on the subject. The druggist, around whose

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stove gathered in the evening the elder statesmen of the town, said he had nothing in his bottles from that country, and Colonel Williams, the general arbiter of everything and the most important man in the neighborhood, the proprietor and landlord of the Eagle Hotel, at which General Washington had stopped during the Revolutionary War, remarked that nothing with that label had ever been called for by any of his guests.

When I reached Washington and expressed some doubt to Mr. Seward about such an abrupt and entire change in my career, he sent me to see Mr. Burlingame at Willard's Hotel. Mr. Burlingame had been our Minister to China and had made such an impression on the Chinese Government that they had appointed him at the head of their first mission to the United States and European Governments. I sent up my card. He received me immediately. He had just come from his bath and was shaving. Waving the lather brush in one hand and the razor in the other, he addressed to me an oration on the importance of the office and the delights of the East. Among other things, he said, "Do you think, sir, that you are going among a savage people? They have a literature which was classic when your forefathers were painted savages. They will give you a palace to live in and a garden so superbly cultivated that it would have excited the envy of Shenstone.

And that you may not feel solitary and neglected, so far away from home, they will assign as your personal attendants and for the care of your palace, one hundred of the most beautiful maidens in the world."

When I returned to my room, I found about fifty New Yorkers there, waiting to hear my report. The next morning, all of them, in case I resigned, were applicants for the position.

The progress of fifty years and its finest illustration can be condensed in a paragraph about Japan. At the time of my appointment, it took six months to go there or to receive a letter from there. Now the voyage can be made in two weeks; and when Mr. Edison made his telegraphic circuit of the globe with him at one wire and I at the other, I sent and received a message from Japan in twenty minutes. At that time Japan was under a dual government and autocracy; its fleet were junks; its army wearing armor and carrying spears and bows and arrows. To-day it has a constitution, a representative government, a free press, schools and colleges and one of the best-equipped and most perfectly armed navies and armies in the world. The fear of its invasion is sufficient to be the most potential stock in trade of the politicians of the Pacific Coast.

I was in Paris at the time of the declaration of the present war. I saw the mobilization of the troops, Paris in a state of siege, stores

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closed, the hotels closing and the city which I had left, not long before, never so gay, never so attractive, never so much the Paris which draws all the world, changed to gloom, empty streets and alarm. There were ten thousand Americans there anxious to get home, the majority of them without means, because the return passage which they had paid for was on German ships and could not be transferred to others. All of them were short of money and the banks would not respond. This was the opportunity for an American Ambassador in the complete confidence of the French Government and possessing unusual gifts as a business man, organizer, executive and tactician. Mr. Herrick filled all those requirements. He immediately appointed a committee to relieve the situation and help the American tourists. He was the busiest man in Europe at the Embassy, but he found time to attend the meetings of the committee and solve problems which were beyond their power. These thousands of Americans could not get out of Paris without a passport, and there were not enough printed passports, in all Europe, to meet the demand. Americans very rarely need a passport and so few know what they contain. Suppose our genial President, Mr. Frank Lawrence, was the applicant. The passport would recite: Height, 5 ft. 11; hair, just tinged with gray; temperament, sanguine; age, he don't look it; occupation, a

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lawyer, but the most tactful and eloquent frescoer of eminent gentlemen who are guests of the Lotos Club. Mr. Herrick would solve the passport difficulty by putting on a sheet of embassy paper: "Honorable Frank R. Lawrence, President of the Lotos Club, which is the American Society of Literature and Art," attach a seal as large as the palm of your hand, colored red and duly stamped with "Myron T. Herrick, Ambassador of the United States," at the bottom and its presentation to French officialdom would lead to the extension of every French courtesy to expedite Mr. Lawrence's passage home.

I went with Ambassador Herrick to a reception by President Poincaré. There was gathered all the Cabinet. The greeting of Mr. Herrick was such as is seldom bestowed upon a representative of a foreign power. It combined the highest consideration and the greatest degree of personal regard. But Mr. Herrick's influence extended beyond the borders of France. He was enabled to get special trains which brought his stranded countrymen and countrywomen from cure resorts in Austria, Germany and Belgium.

I refrain, gentlemen, from giving you my experiences and adventures as a refugee. Fifty thousand of them, who have been boring their friends to death in all parts of our country, have been taken in by the Ananias club. Some of

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the things which they tell may have happened, if not to themselves to others.

I have always been a student of the careers of successful men. In early life, to find the secret, later, because they are most interesting. I have known personally nearly every man of national reputation during the last half century. It is a curious fact that none of them arrived at the goal for which they started, but climbed much higher. Abraham Lincoln, when he was splitting rails, thought safety, comfort and content was to be found in keeping store. A mighty revolution needed him, found him and he saved his country from the revolution. Mr. Herrick was a farmer's boy. To secure a college education, he had to work his way through and find the money himself. Teaching a country school during vacation, boarding around and returning to college with an impaired digestion and sleepless nights occasioned by many occupants of the beds to which he had been transferred, did not appeal to young Herrick. The most difficult, dangerous and profitable occupation of that time was selling lightning rods. A canvasser was generally warned off the farm with a shot gun. Herrick was successful. He was destined for a lawyer but almost created the profession of a business doctor. Some business doctors take a healthy plant and when they get through with it the investors have nothing and they are rich. I

am a sufferer. I am a bondholder in the Rock Island Railroad.

Mr. Herrick, as a business doctor, would take several railroads which were streaks of rust and total failures because they began nowhere and ended nowhere. He would bring them together, supply the necessary links, persuade capital to invest and at the end return the property to the original investors and the subsequent bondholders and stockholders in a solvent and prosperous condition. He would take hold of a mining proposition which had merit but was a losing proposition, or a failing and decaying business, cut out the rust, inject new life and restore them to the productive energies of the country.

But, a man's interest through life grows deeper as he grows older in the surroundings of his childhood and youth. Herrick saw that the American farms had been exhausted by wasteful management. I remember when the Genesee Valley, in our State, produced thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, and now it can raise none. Thirty years ago Minnesota easily turned out its thirty bushels per acre, and now only fifteen. Unless this exhaustion can be arrested, the time is near when the United States will be dependent upon other countries for food.

Herrick having become the experienced and educated business doctor, saw that this was the most urgent necessity of American states-

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manship. The governorship of Ohio appealed to him because there was an opportunity to help the farms. The Secretaryship of the Treasurer, which McKinley wanted him to take and for which he had special training and which was a great honor, did not appeal to him because there was no connecting link between the treasury and the farm. But, when he was offered the Ambassadorship to France, he accepted immediately because of the greater opportunity with the power of the position and its close relation to governments abroad. It offered a rare opportunity to find out how it is that the fields of France and Germany, which were cultivated in the time of Julius Caesar, yield more to the acre now, after two thousand years, than they did then; and yield from two to five times as much as does the already partially used virgin soil of America, after less than a hundred years.

I knew very well Elihu B. Washburn, who, as Minister to France in '71, during the Franco-Prussian War, forty-four years ago, had a similar experience to Mr. Herrick. He, alone, like Mr. Herrick, of all the representatives to European Governments, remained in Paris, and he not only protected his countrymen but those of other nationalities. He would have been nominated for President of the United States, except for the overshadowing fame and popularity of General Grant. Now, there is no

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great overshadowing and popular figure in our public life. There is a great party looking for a leader. There are but few capable or possible for that position. Mark Twain once said, having tried it himself, that a man who could sell lightning rods could do anything and get anywhere. Herrick sold lightning rods!

Speech as Presiding Officer at the Dinner
Given by the Union League Club, of New
York, to Mr. Samuel W. Fairchild on His
Retirement From the Presidency of the
Club, Wednesday, January 20, 1915.

Gentlemen:

This is a rare occasion. It is one of the few in which we can participate where there are no axes to grind, no selfish purposes to accomplish and no ambitions to promote. It is simply an unusually large gathering of his fellow members to greet our President upon his voluntary retirement from office, to express our regrets at his departure, to tell him that he is and has been one of the best Presidents ever, and to assure him, collectively, what he already knows of us individually, that we regard him as one of the choicest of good fellows.

In this evening's entertainment, if I may mix metaphors, there is no sand in the sugar, no fly in the amber and no flaws in the diamond. Nine-tenths of our membership, of nearly two thousand, want office. There are not enough to go around, and we experience the difficulty which has so torn the generous heart and distracted the active brain of a great functionary, Mr. Bryan, in finding places "for worthy workers."

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But Mr. Fairchild, for ten years, was a member of the two most important committees of the Club. Elected and re-elected without any protest against this dual relationship and this double honor. While occupying these two important and powerful positions of a member of the Executive Committee and of the House Committee, he also became by acclamation a Vice-President.

Here was a situation which has never before existed in our organization. The Vice-Presidency in a railroad or industrial corporation is one of great importance in their operations; but in politics, especially in the United States Government, and in club life, it is usually a comfortable but hopeless tomb. The one effort of a Vice-President is to restrain himself from praying for the resignation or death of the President. But, here again, comes the anomaly and also the distinction of Mr. Fairchild's official connection with the Club. Again, by a unanimous vote of his fellow members, he was rescued from the Vice-Presidency and made our President. There are two kinds of Presidents—one enjoys the honor and leaves the work to the various committees; the other is an active member of all the committees and, without seeming to do so, really does all the work. He energizes every department, his executive genius is felt in the library; in the public utterances of the Club, in the reading room,

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in the café and the restaurant. He dissipates clouds of criticism before they become a storm. He diffuses harmony in the family, bridges over difficulties and diverts dangers, clashes and crises.

Here was particularly the successful effort of Mr. Fairchild. When all other efforts failed to stem the rising tide of protest or factional fight, our President would give a dinner to the combatants. He appreciated the soothing and melting qualities of this function when the host is equal to the occasion, and Fairchild's dinner was always a success.

This is the most difficult Club in the United States and at the same time one of the most enjoyable. It was founded as a political organization, but as its social functions and opportunities became equal to the best social clubs in the country, there came a hot strife between members who wished it to be the best of social organizations, and that only, and members who wished to preserve and continue its early principles and traditions. The social member was a frequent visitor. He had his reserved place in the dining room and his alcove in the quiet of the library. He was the beneficiary of that axiom of club life, that two thousand men pay dues that two hundred may have all the comforts of a home and the rest a semi-occasional view.

The monthly meeting, which in time of hot politics drew a large attendance, filled and over-

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flowed the sanctuary to the exclusion of the Saints, who resented the intrusion of these members. All Presidents have been troubled with this situation. It has been the distinction of Fairchild that, with the aid of the cinematograph and Chautauqua lectures, he has kept the Club up to the highest social efficiency, and at the same time alert and alive to its public duties.

The great ambition of every college man is to be the oldest living graduate. He is the pet and toast at all alumni gatherings and has a distinction which cannot be taken away from him. The one future of an ex-President of this Club is to hope to live to be the oldest in point of service of the living ex-Presidents. Choate is that now and receives, when he honors us by his presence, the distinction which is so justly his due.

Fairchild is so young and has so sanguine a temperament that he will certainly outlive us all who are ex-Presidents and for many years serenely hold this enviable position. But, when he approaches a hundred years of age, he should so cultivate his memory that he does not fall into the weakness of old age, which is loss of memory. The oldest living graduate of Yale College, for many years, was Mr. Wickham, uncle of the one-time Mayor of New York. The Mayor gave his venerable relative, who was ninety-six, a reception. At the reception

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Governor Hoadley of Ohio said, "Mr. Wickham, my mother was a bridesmaid at your wedding." The old gentleman asked her name and the Governor told him. "Ah, yes," said the old gentleman, "I remember her now. She was bridesmaid for my second wife. I don't remember that wife's name, but she was a good wife and a very fine woman."

It is a curious fact that while dinners have been in order for Governors and ex-Governors, ex-Senators and Congressmen, military and naval heroes, as well as retiring and incoming officials of every kind of organization, literary, industrial, social and artistic, there never has been a public dinner participated in by citizens from every State to an ex-President of the United States. I can imagine no reason, except that he drops from the pinnacle, the highest pinnacle, and before his fall is arrested, he is below the average citizen. The average citizen looks upon his ex-President with curious and unpractical eyes. He does not want him to practice law as a lawyer, because he says, on account of the President's position and the fact that he has appointed so many judges, that is unfair. He does not want him to go into business, because that lowers the dignity of a place for which the citizen has the greatest respect. He has a curious feeling, though he is the most practical of men and thinkers in other respects, that an ex-President of the

United States can live on air. But, if the ex-President indulges in hot air, the citizen is offended.

The first public banquet given in honor of a retiring official, in our history, was the one which Governor Clinton of the State of New York gave in honor of General Washington, the day after the evacuation of New York by the British in November, 1783, and this was given at Fraunces' Tavern, which happily is preserved. The next day, at the same tavern, Washington bade farewell to his officers, and it remains one of the most affecting scenes in our history. Washington retired to Mount Vernon, hoping for private life, but was speedily recalled to the Presidency of the young Republic.

Now, one hundred and thirty-one years afterwards, in another and humbler sphere, we have an historical parallel. Our President retires to the island which he owns off the coast of Virginia, where he is the most expert fisherman and the best shot.

Things are changing rapidly in our public affairs. Sense and sanity are taking the place of the chaos of the new freedom. The wreck of the civil service by the Secretary of State and the rhetoric of the President to the faithful at Indianapolis are making clear the way for republican harmony and republican success. With a personality so attractive, a tactfulness so rare, a common sense and executive ability

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so remarkable, governorships and Congress, by the mandate of his fellow-citizens, will draw our friend Fairchild from his island on the coast.

Now, my friends, I speak for you and the rest of the nine hundred not present who joined in a souvenir to perpetuate this manifestation of our respect for our retiring President and our love for the man. It is by his wish that it is not a picture to hang on the wall, or a cup to adorn his table, but a personal reminder to be always with him, and, whether at home or abroad, in the domestic circle, amidst cares of business or the distractions of society, to recall the most enjoyable years of his career and the devoted friends who made them so. A ring is associated with engagement and marriage, the most sacred and intimate events in life; it is worn on the left hand and nearest the heart, whose pulsations send the blood under it in continuing circles until the end. This ring, which I now give you, is both collective and individual, all joined, but as you recall your friends, you can reincarnate each and the pleasure he had in this token.

Classes at Wellesley College Formerly Elected
Some University Man to Membership
of the Class. The Class of '90, of Two
Hundred Young Women, Elected SENA-
TOR DEPEW. The Following is the
Letter Written by Him to the Class at Its
Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, June 7, 1915.

Dear Miss Barrows:

It is rarely in the experience of a long life that so gracious and grateful a message has come to me as that from you on behalf of my classmates at Wellesley. My completed eighty-one years have been blessed with sixty of activities in many departments, social, literary, political, economic and financial.

That next year our class of 1856 will celebrate at Yale the sixtieth anniversary of its graduation is very interesting. Its work is largely a memory, and only sixteen survive, but the twenty-fifth anniversary of my class at Wellesley is a suggestion of perpetual youth.

I recall with intense pleasure the (to me) memorable visit to you. I happened that day to be at Concord, New Hampshire, in the morning, having delivered an address at St. Paul's School. I asked the stationmaster the quickest way to Wellesley, and with the curi-

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osity of his Yankee race he inquired, "What are you going there for?" I replied, "To visit my classmates." Whereupon the shocked descendant of a long line of Puritan ancestors said severely, "You are all off; that is a gals' school." But from the moment of my reception at the depot until my departure my independence ceased and my individuality was merged. The authoritative way in which the President of the class assigned me my seat in the carriage and indicated my place in reviewing the games, as well as the presentation to the Faculty, gave me a sense of my inferiority and toleration as a mere man never equalled in my experience in my family. In the haste to reach you a lunch was impossible, and a healthy and hungry man, after twelve hours' fast, was ushered in to the class supper. My classmates were happy and confident that they had met every requirement of the occasion in giving me sponge cake and ice-cream. I am sure that those of you who have married have changed your views of that evening as to man's appetite.

Few classes of any college have been privileged to live and work in such a marvelous quarter of a century. It condenses more of everything which makes history, adds to the volume of human achievements in discovery and invention, and increases the sum of human happiness and, in its closing hours, of human misery, than many completed centuries.

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But, my classmates, the unequalled heroism of this year, the unparalleled sacrifices for the wounded and the suffering, the unselfish patriotism and courage of this war, are sure testimonies to the survival of all that makes life worth living. Ours has been a glorious and inspiring period. My message to you is full of congratulation, of hopefulness, and, may I add, of affection.

Very sincerely yours,

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Miss Mary Barrows, Secretary,
Huntington Chambers,
Boston, Mass.

THE LESSON OF TWO GREAT WARS.

Written for Leslie's Weekly, June 17, 1915.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—*Former Senator Depew was actively associated with the affairs of the Government during the War between the States and recollects vividly that great struggle. He has been much abroad, and from his distinguished acquaintance with European rulers and statesmen has an intimate knowledge of events that led to the present war and the conditions prior to its outbreak. Few other men are so well equipped to draw the parallel that he here outlines.*

A veteran observer who has lived through several critical periods is impressed with the frequency and literalness with which history repeats itself. The cabinet crisis in Great Britain emphasizes this truth. Its remarkable analogy is found in our Civil War. At one period the press of the North, led by Horace Greeley, was in fierce revolt against the management of the war. Generals were sacrificed and the favorite of the day was driven from command the next. The people became impatient. Results were unsatisfactory and success and immediate success the only criterion. For some time battles were described as glorious

exhibitions of valor and patriotism. The long list of dead and wounded was the roll of honor. But when the war dragged on without decisive victories, the news of drawn fights, or defeats, or of retreats was received with horror as useless slaughter caused by incompetent leadership.

Utterances, which in the early part of the war would have been treasonable, became later the angry expression of the people demanding a sacrifice. This culminated in a peace movement which was dangerous to the Union and encouraged the Confederates. Three commissioners, old-time Whig statesmen, appeared at Niagara Falls and announced that they were authorized to treat for peace. It was a shrewd and adroit move on the part of the exceedingly able men who were conducting the affairs of the Confederacy. It distracted the attention of the North, which should have been concentrated on the prosecution of the war, and energized the South. Mr. Lincoln said to me he felt sure that the commissioners were without authority; but when Mr. Greeley wrote that he would be held personally responsible for every drop of blood and every dollar spent if the war continued, he authorized him to see them and ascertain their powers. Mr. Greeley so conducted and prolonged the negotiations that Mr. Lincoln issued his famous proclamation giving safe conduct to Washington and return to any one representing the Confederate government.

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No one came. But the newspaper crusade against Mr. Lincoln and the conduct of the war continued until General Grant's victories saved the situation. That part of the press which at the beginning of the war was insisting on the policy of "On to Richmond" at any cost was the one demanding peace at any cost.

I was in England at the time of the declaration of war with Germany. There was general expectation that Mr. Haldane, who had organized the territorials, then the only available volunteer body to aid the small standing army, would be the War Minister. The campaign of certain newspapers to drive Haldane out and put Kitchener in as the one and only man supremely fitted was one of the most brilliant and effective efforts I have ever known. Now the same newspapers have made an attack so fierce on Kitchener that, while the confidence of the country in him has been only partially disturbed, the government has been revolutionized and the opposition invited to share the management of the war. The same sort of attack in the Civil War did not destroy the confidence of the people in Lincoln, but Generals Pope, Hooker and McClellan had to go.

There was a memorable exception to the popularity of Lincoln. In 1863 the peace advocates were becoming so powerful that Mr. Lincoln's renomination and re-election, if nominated, were doubtful. The series of remark-

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able victories by General Grant during the summer of that year defeated the peace people, re-elected Lincoln and ended the war at Appomattox. But for those victories the cry "the war is a failure" would have swept the North. The Confederacy would have been recognized and the Union dissolved. Our Civil War and this frightful, savage and all-embracing European conflict both bring to the front the handicaps of democracy in a war with the concentrated authority of autocracy. The North in our Civil War was a democracy divided in bitter partizanship and with the largest liberty of the press and of speech. Slavery had given over the government of the South to an oligarchy of about 300,000 men who, in terror of injury to the system upon which were based their property and prosperity, gave absolute power to a few highly trained and able leaders. They controlled the schools and the newspapers. They taught the generation which went into rebellion both its righteousness and necessity.

When these leaders decided to revolt, they could rely upon the unquestioning loyalty of their people. Their organization was perfect. Their armies were drilled, officered and commanded by the skilled graduates of the Military Academy. A Horace Greeley in revolt or criticism could not live under their system, and there were no such independent and hostile critics. The result was that with infinite

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inferiority in men, resources, cash and credit they almost succeeded. The Northern democracy, on the other hand, lost in the first two years of the war a fearful waste of men and materials from divided councils, confidence in untrained armies, uneducated leaders and inefficiency.

Germany began this war with the most wonderful military organization of all the centuries, supported by a people trained to arms, educated to yield enthusiastic support to their Emperor and his General Staff. An army of a million men can draw upon a possible twelve millions who are trained, their depots for report designated, their equipment ready, their organization automatic and transportation provided on the State railways. So with these resources and a unanimous population, Germany is embattled against almost the world in arms.

Great Britain entered the war unprepared. Behind her available army of three hundred thousand are those who volunteer at home and the contingents furnished by her colonies. Her reliance is upon recruiting, and after her noblest, bravest and best to the extent of about two millions have enlisted, the rest hold back or to excuse their want of patriotism criticize the conduct of the war or incite labor troubles in the factories manufacturing munitions of war. She is deficient in war materials because a democratic government under party manage-

ment will not and dare not incur the expense of preparation for war, or the certainty of political defeat by enforcing compulsory service.

I remember being a guest on one of the steamships in the fleet at the great naval review in the Solent on Queen Victoria's jubilee. The Emperor of Germany and King Edward the Seventh, then Prince of Wales, came on the ship. After the reception the Emperor asked if the ship had anything new in the way of armament and was told of a quick-firing gun just invented. In a moment he was all over that gun and critically examined it. Calling his aid, he gave a peremptory order to equip his fleet with it. This illustrated the genius as well as power of the Emperor. Had he been King of Great Britain he could not and would not have dared give such an order. Such suggestion from him would have rocked his throne.

After ten months of unparalleled slaughter and expenditure, not one allied soldier is yet on German soil except in East Prussia and Alsace-Lorraine, and Germany has not felt the horrors of war which have devastated Belgium and northern France. An indignant people overthrew the British government and forced its reorganization, and yet if the government had in the days of peace tried to prepare for this war, they would have been driven from office. All parties unite and assume the responsibilities of government. With domestic discord elim-

LESSONS OF TWO GREAT WARS

inated and the country one, the exhaustless resources and tireless energy of democracy can prepare for an aggressive campaign.

The lesson of the two wars, the present and our Civil War, is evident. The nature of man has not changed. War is not probable but always possible. No one wants or would have militarism established, but unpreparedness is criminal neglect and its punishment drastic and fearful. The price of liberty is great, but it is abundantly worth the cost. Wars are too infrequent to justify any check upon the spirit and practice of true democracy. A republican government like ours can be a true representative of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and still be prepared to maintain and defend them.

HAS BRYAN STEPPED INTO OBLIVION?

Written for "Leslie's Weekly," July 1, 1915.

Civis Romanus sum (I am a Roman citizen). There is no sentence from classic literature which was of greater inspiration or aroused more enthusiasm among students in my youth than this proud declaration of Roman citizenship. It was protection to the Roman wherever he might be, in any part of the known world. Civilized and barbarous people had been taught that behind the citizen was the whole power of Rome; her eagles and her legions were prompt to rescue or revenge. When the Apostle Paul was on trial before the Roman Governor, he might have suffered the fate of Jesus if he had not startled that functionary by declaring: "I am a Roman citizen." The Magistrate apologized, the prisoner was sent under complimentary escort to the Imperial City. It was a journey he was very anxious to make, but in his poverty could not have done so except at the expense and under the protection of the Government. This principle of protection of the citizen and his rights in foreign lands and in alien jurisdictions has been recognized and enforced by the diplomacy, backed by the army

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and navy, of all civilized nations. The arrival of the British or a German cruiser is simultaneous almost with the arrest, spoliation or robbery of one of their citizens anywhere in the world. Our Government has grown singularly lax in performing this duty. For a long time we paid tribute to the Algerian and Tripolitan pirates to keep them from seizing our merchant vessels and selling their crews into slavery. Finally the American spirit was aroused and the American navy sunk the fleet of the Bey of Tunis, and by bombardment sent his palace crumbling about him. This ended forever that sort of attack upon American citizens or their property and gave freedom of the seas for ships carrying the American flag.

In the several crises which have brought Americans together as one man to assert and defend American rights and liberties, none aroused greater enthusiasm and determination than when Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, defied the power of the Austrian Empire and, incidentally, all Europe, because all European governments claimed the same rights, when he used the American navy for the rescue and safety of a naturalized citizen. His dispatch asserting the position of the United States, where the rights of its citizens were involved, is a document so luminous that it forms one of the most brilliant pages in our diplomatic literature. With the disappearance of our

merchant marine from the oceans and seas of the world, we have become as a nation disgracefully indifferent to the rights of American citizens who are lawfully resident and doing business in foreign countries. We differ in this respect radically from all highly organized industrial nations of the world. Increasing populations and congestion in manufactures have made the problem of earning a living very acute in those countries. Their production has been so largely in excess of the needs of their own markets that they have been compelled to find markets all around the earth. They must either do this or face starvation and revolution, or find outlets in colonization and colonies for the settlement of their emigration.

Foreign commerce, which is the life of Great Britain and of Germany, was becoming, up to the breaking out of this terrible war, stimulated by every art of diplomacy and the whole power of their navies. They have virtually kept us out of South America and absorbed its trade; they have crippled us in China and the Orient; they have handicapped us even in Mexico. Within the last ten years we have made some efforts to compete with these countries in foreign trade; we have extended fitfully but not as a recognized system encouragement and protection to our citizens who are enterprising and patriotic enough to go into these countries and carry with them our products and the needs

for the expansion of our markets. As the United States increases in population it is self-evident that the experience of European countries will be repeated here unless we have foreign markets. Unless there are American citizens residing in those countries, who are skilled, energetic and progressive, the congestion of our industries is sure to occur. There will be overproduction, lowering of wages, reduction of time and numbers in our plants and a situation which will degrade American citizenship and lower the standards of American life.

When Mr. Bryan became Secretary of State and for two years and a half during which he has held that office, our Government has been singularly indifferent to the rights of American citizens in foreign countries and, in a way, hostile to their moving into other lands and establishing themselves there in business. What little encouragement had been given to these enterprising Americans by previous administrations was contemptuously styled "dollar diplomacy." I had a friend who twenty-five years ago went to Mexico as the manager of an industrial enterprise. This was not a concession from the Mexican Government involving any privileges which any other man, Mexican or of any other nationality, might not have undertaken, if willing to risk his money, give to it his time and business talent, and take the chances of competition. It was helpful to American industries

in the factory products which the business require. My friend has been fairly successful; Mexico has become his home and that of his children; all his interests of every kind have been built up and established there. Every such American is an advance agent and permanent factor in the encouragement and expansion of American trade in foreign lands. If there were enough of such citizens properly protected by our Government and encouraged as the citizens and subjects of other governments are, we would have what the German Emperor calls "a place in the sun" where now we do not cause a shadow. When the revolution broke out in Mexico my friend received some protection at first from the Government of Huerta, the only semblance of government Mexico has had since Madero. A bandit chief called on him one day and said, "My forces extend all over the territory occupied by your plants. We are here, there and everywhere; we can destroy your property; we are fighting Huerta and therefore we are allies of the United States, but we have to be supported. A monthly sum and your extended lines are safe." The sum was moderate because, the bandit chief said, "We are practically in alliance and fighting your battles, and so I am treating you much better than I am the big French mine near here, because under the Monroe Doctrine the United States will not permit France to interfere, and

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so I am taking the whole output." Another bandit came who drove out this one and the American manager, who left his assistant, a Mexican, in charge. The second bandit demanded five hundred dollars the first day, one thousand the next day, and two thousand the third, and this not forthcoming immediately escorted the manager to the cemetery, placed him against a tombstone and shot him. The American manager, my friend, went to the American Embassy and was told that all that could be done for him by the American Government, his own government, was to give a ticket home to the United States for himself and family. He had no home in the United States nor any occupation with which to support his family. He had been absent a quarter of a century. Another American, formerly an engineer in our railway service, called on me and said that with a German engineer he had been in the service of a big mining company in Mexico. They had each accumulated about fifteen thousand dollars worth of property. Their property was taken from them and they fled with their families to Mexico City. Each appealed for help to his Embassy. The American was informed that nothing could be done for him except to give him transportation to the United States. The German Embassy recovered full damages for the German.

I do not want to do any injustice, but I have

been told by several who have appealed to the State Department, and whose cases were somewhat similar, that they have been received coldly and practically informed that the place for an American was in his own country and that when he went to a foreign country and established himself there in business, he did so at his own risk. Unless the old Roman doctrine becomes the established rule of the United States, unless the American flag means as much to the American citizen who is doing business in foreign countries as the British or the German flag does to the subjects of those countries in foreign lands, our Pan-American and other Congresses and Conventions, with the representatives of those countries for the purpose of promoting trade and inter-communication, have no practical value, but are only interesting and entertaining opportunities for the rainbow and aurora borealis of international oratory.

We have had in my time two resignations of Secretaries of State, each of them very dramatic and sensational at the time. Salmon F. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury when he resigned from Lincoln's Cabinet. The position of Secretary of the Treasury was then quite the most important on account of our financial troubles in government. I was in Washington at the time, being there on official business connected with my position as Secretary of State of New York. I was a devoted and enthusiastic friend

of Secretary of State Seward and so knew much of what was going on in the inner confidences of the Cabinet. There was an intense antagonism between Seward and Chase. Chase had been conspiring for over two years to prevent Lincoln's renomination and secure the nomination for himself. For that purpose he had placed himself at the head of the ultra-radical element of the party. Mr. Lincoln knew perfectly every move Chase was making and the hollowness of his professions of loyalty. Notwithstanding this, when Chase had resigned before because Lincoln had refused to do as he had advised, Mr. Lincoln declined to accept his resignation and modified his policy, which was largely political as to appointments, to gratify Chase; but when Chase, with a great flourish of trumpets and a spectacular appeal to the country, sent in his second resignation, to his amazement and disgust Mr. Lincoln accepted it. The country rallied behind Lincoln and, except that in his magnanimity and great-heartedness, Mr. Lincoln made Salmon P. Chase Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, he would have dropped out of sight.

The second resignation was that of James G. Blaine from the Cabinet of President Harrison. I was intimate with Mr. Blaine and very fond of him. Though he was the head of Mr. Harrison's Cabinet, he permitted himself to be put forward in the Republican National Con-

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vention as a candidate against his chief. Mr. Blaine was at the time a very sick man. Mr. Harrison had asked me to be his convention and floor manager at Minneapolis where the Convention met. I called upon Mr. Blaine, told him the President's request and said to him, "My friendship with you is such that I will not take this place or assume this responsibility without your consent." He said, "You have my entire approval; under no circumstances will I be a candidate; my health is such I could not survive the campaign." Of course, he resigned before Mr. Harrison's renomination and died in a few months. Mr. Harrison offered me his place, which I felt compelled to decline.

Now comes the resignation of Mr. Bryan. When one has reached my time of life and been active in affairs from the time he reached his majority, precedents and historical parallels greatly interest him. In the Mexican war, in the War of Rebellion, in the Spanish war, the actions and sentiments of the people have always been the same. They rally around the President. They do this without regard to party affiliations or approval or disapproval of his other policies, measures and administrative acts. The President represents for the time being the honor and integrity, the rights and safety of the country. The people brush aside with impatience and anger any effort, even from their greatest idol, which they think may

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embarrass him. I remember as if it were yesterday Horatio Seymour, one of the ablest and most brilliant statesmen of his period, who had carried the State of New York and been elected Governor, declared against Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and other drastic movements to prosecute the war. Governor Seymour believed the policies of Lincoln subversive of the Constitution, of the reserved rights of the States and the liberty of the individual. He was defeated for Governor and subsequently for President. The views which he advocated had been the doctrine taught him by a democratic father and which had practically governed the country almost since its organization. But in the minds of the people they were obstructions to what they believed to be the President's purpose—the preservation of the Union, or that all else was nothing when there was danger to union and liberty, "one and inseparable, now and forever."

So now, when American ships have been torpedoed and sunk, and American men, women and children rightfully and lawfully on the ocean have been killed—the reasons given at length by Mr. Bryan for his resignation have no weight. They are carefully but regretfully read. Peace platitudes, side-stepping the facts, other possible considerations, near or remote, do not for a moment obscure or divert American opinion. It goes directly to the mark, like a

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bullet from the rifle of a frontiersman of the Revolution.

The President has stated the American position and the American demand, and, impatient of argument or delay, the people support him.

Speech at the Celebration of the Fourth of July, 1915, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When the Committee called upon me this morning with the request that I make the Fourth of July address at the concert this evening, my first inclination was to decline. It occurred to me that the summer audience, some on pleasure bent, and others absorbed in the cure would not welcome an old-fashioned Fourth of July speech. Then I remembered that we are all Americans, and that wherever on this date, in any part of the world, from the Arctic Circle to the Tropics, from the Tropics to the Antarctic ice, there are two Americans, one is reading the Declaration of Independence and the other making a Fourth of July oration. Then they try to sing our national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." Both can carry the tune, but, like most of us, neither knows the words.

I remember my first acute experience and patriotic celebration of the Fourth of July. It was over seventy-five years ago. My father, with the recklessness which characterized parents in those days, had given me a three pound cannon. My knowledge of ammunition and drilling as an artilleryman were limited to one idea, that the more powder you put in a

gun and the harder you rammed it down, the greater noise it would make. The day was ushered in as it had been since the Revolutionary War, by the ringing of the church bells and the firing of an old continental cannon from Drum Hill. My gun followed immediately. When I came to, my mother was picking powder out of my face, but I forgot the pain in thinking that I shared in the glory of those who had fought at Bunker Hill and Saratoga.

My next vivid memory is of that old-fashioned, time-honored Fourth, then common in every village in the land, now I fear largely in abeyance. The procession, which included the local military and fire companies, the Masons and the Odd Fellows, at the head the Grand Marshal and his aides on horseback, and then the orator of the day and the reader of the Declaration of Independence in an open carriage. The celebration in a grove. I was the orator and had just graduated from Yale. The reader of the Declaration was General James W. Husted, afterwards very famous in the politics of the State of New York. Husted was a fine elocutionist. He committed the Declaration to memory and delivered it with tremendous force and vigor. As he rolled out Jefferson's denunciation of British tyranny an excited Irishman in the audience, who thought it was original effort, yelled in great excitement to the reader, "Give 'em hell, Jimmy, give 'em hell!"

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We are fortunate in having our Fourth of July to-day within the borders of old Virginia. None of the colonies is richer in revolutionary heroes, statesmen, orators and inspiration than the Old Dominion. It was from here and within a few miles that Washington started for Cambridge to take command of the Continental army. It was within this territory that the burning words of Patrick Henry aroused not only the Virginia Convention, but the Continental Congress. Every American boy in my time could speak that speech. I recall a few sentences, "Why stand we here idle? Our brethren are already in the field; the next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clashing of resounding arms. As for me, give me liberty or give me death!" Within this sacred soil Jefferson's studies and meditations produced that immortal document, "The Declaration of Independence." But there is another reason why Virginia is especially suggestive on the Fourth of July. Here at Yorktown the Revolutionary War ended, and the United States became free; and fifty years ago, and here also, the Civil War closed at Appomattox by the reunion of the States. It is the finest tribute to the quality of American liberty that only a half century from that battlefield we here of the North and South can calmly discuss and unitedly rejoice in that victory. The people of the South and the

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North, each believing they were right, fought to the death for a principle, but fortunately the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the magnanimity of General Grant, and the nobleness of General Lee reunited the warring States in the same bonds as before, with the same equal rights, privileges and liberties, and only slavery, now recognized to have been a curse, eliminated.

The passions of civil wars in all times of the past have survived generations, but the miracle of reconciliation has its finest evidence in the fact that not by the bullet but by the ballot and the free choice of the American people, North, South, East and West, those who fought and lost in the Civil War are now in control of every branch of our Government. The President of the United States is a Southern man, the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court was a Confederate soldier, the leaders of both branches of Congress are of the same ancestry and sympathies. What a contrast with the heritage of hate and revenge left by the Franco-Prussian war six years afterwards! There the victor imposed upon the vanquished spoliation of their fairest territory, and a burden of debt from the enormous amount of indemnity exacted, which aroused bitter feelings of revenge. Revenge and reprisals are now reaping their toll of blood and devastation in the most unparalleled and destructive war of all times.

A serious question arises in view of current

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events and utterances: Does the spirit of 1776 still survive with us? That it did live in all its original vigor and fire fifty years ago the Civil War is a magnificent example. We must remember that both the Revolutionary and the Civil wars were fought for a principle. The grievances of the colonies against the mother country were not felt seriously by the people. The colonies largely governed themselves, but they revolted when the mother country proposed to tax them without their consent. Nineteenths of them were English and had the traditions of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. The one had been wrung from the throne by their ancestors at Runnymede six hundred years before, and the other had enlarged the liberties of the great charter three hundred years afterwards. It was for this principle, violation of which might grow into oppressive proportions, but which then amounted to little, that our ancestors fought for seven long years. The men who went into the Revolutionary War were the most substantial in the country. Its leaders were the leaders also of the social, literary, commercial, financial and industrial elements of all the colonies. Washington was the richest man in the United States, John Hancock, whose broad signature is the most conspicuous among the signers of the Declaration, was the greatest merchant in the country, the Livingstons, the Van Cortlandts, the Schuylers, Charles Carroll

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of Carrollton were among the largest land-owners. They all risked everything and solemnly pledged to the support of the principle of no taxation without representation, their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. I confess to being disturbed at the spirit and temper of our times. Some of us differ widely from the policies and politics of the President of the United States, while others enthusiastically support his policies and party principles. But we should all be united and stand as one man behind the President when the national honor and the safety of our citizens are at stake, even if they should be challenged by all the world.

I have met several gatherings of gentlemen from all parts of the country, who are leaders in industrial activities and our commercial and financial expansions. They are of the same class who risked everything and began the Revolutionary War. But I found that their general expression is one of timidity, is one of almost active hostility to the assertion and maintenance by the President of our rights, if that may lead to war. One man, prominent in his neighborhood in the West and a most reputable citizen, who came to see me to find if I had any information as to the possibility of international trouble, frankly said that he would rather have our people retire from the ocean entirely than to have the property and possibly

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the lives of the whole people endangered because other citizens would continue to use the high seas for business or pleasure. But, my friends, it is a hundred and thirty-nine years from the Declaration of Independence, it is fifty years from the Civil War, it is only fifteen years since the whole Nation rallied behind McKinley in the Spanish-American War. Commercialism, luxury, alien elements in our population may obscure for the moment the real temper of the American people. But should an emergency arise, which God forbid, I have no doubt that every element of our population, of whatever ancestry, native or foreign born, would rally to the defence of the flag.

One year ago to-day I was in Paris. I was invited to deliver an address on that Fourth of July at the tomb of Lafayette. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know before, that Lafayette, instead of being buried at his ancestral estate at La Grange, has his tomb within the walls of Paris. Connected with the spot is an interesting story. During the French Revolution many of the victims of the guillotine were buried in a huge pit upon a farm then some distance from Paris. Among them were a large number of the representatives of the oldest, most distinguished and historic families of France. When the Terror was over, and those who had been driven out of the country were permitted to return, and their confiscated

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property was returned to them, they raised a large fund in memory of these martyrs the Revolution. They purchased this farm, built about this pit a high wall and set apart the rest of it for a convent and a garden. The fund yielded a large income which was devoted to the building of the convent, the beautifying of the grounds, and a service to be continued forever in the chapel of the convent by nuns who, relieving one another at proper intervals, should offer perpetual prayers for the dead. Lafayette desired to be buried among these victims.

At the tomb of Lafayette on that beautiful Fourth of July morning one year ago were gathered, representing the French Government, the French Foreign Minister and Minister of War, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the Senior Admiral of the Navy, and many prominent in official and literary France. Representing the United States, the American Ambassador and some hundreds of Americans. The speeches of the Frenchmen emphasized the traditional friendship between our two countries and the lessons of liberty which France had learned and incorporated in her institutions from the United States. The American Ambassador, Myron T. Herrick, appropriately expressed the gratitude of our people for the assistance which the French rendered us in our great struggle. We, who participated, felt it a

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privilege to pay tribute on that spot to the memory of Lafayette. We felt that to him next to Washington was due the success of the Revolution. He brought to us in our darkest hour the help which saved: The French army under Rochambeau, the French navy under De Grasse and the French gold which enabled Washington to pay his soldiers, and which also helped our shattered credit, gave the hope and help which ended at Yorktown in the establishment of the Republic of the United States.

As I rode back from that celebration through the streets of Paris, I thought never before had I been in a city so beautiful, so prosperous, so artistic, or among a people so happy as the Parisians. In less than thirty days I was again in Paris; the stores closed, the streets deserted, the young men all gone to the front, and the city in a state of siege. While in Paris I had the privilege of speaking on the same platform with Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, a Senator of France, one of its most eminent orators and one of its foremost public men. He had returned from a trip through the United States at the head of a delegation which had visited us to promote a movement for international peace. He spoke warmly of the assistance and co-operation in this effort of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan has resigned from the Cabinet because of the President's insistence upon our rights, which he thinks might lead

to war. He has emphasized his opinion in a speech at a great German meeting in New York. In yesterday's paper is a letter from Baron d'Estournelles de Constant to Mr. Bryan, in which he says in substance that he has not changed at all his estimate of the value of peace which he and Mr. Bryan had preached and enforced upon the same platform in America. But when the life of France is at stake, when her institutions and her liberties are imperilled, when part of her territory is occupied by a hostile army which has destroyed its cities and villages, looted its farms and expelled its population, there can be no peace. The sacred duty of every French man and every French woman is to do their utmost to expel the invader and assure their country of a peace that will be permanent, with a safety that cannot be assailed, and that the war must go on until militarism as a force in government and an international menace is destroyed.

While in France, on the fourteenth of July, I saw the review by the President of the Republic of the garrison of Paris. Thirty thousand of the finest troops in the world. The men who foresaw the danger which threatened France, succeeded by a mighty effort against the theorists and the peace advocates in raising the French army to 750,000 men, equal to the German army on a peace footing. The German army, in its invasion came within twelve miles

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of Paris and then was driven back to the position it now occupies in Northern France. Except for this French army, Paris would now be in the hands of the enemy, and if an indemnity of ninety millions of dollars was exacted from Brussels, a thousand millions would have been demanded from Paris, and the demand enforced with ruthless power. The French ports would be in the hands of the enemy and France helpless and bleeding at the feet of her foe, never to rise again.

What is the lesson of this story to us on this Fourth of July? It is summed up and concentrated in one word, "preparedness." Preparedness does not mean aggression nor conquest, nor seeking a quarrel, nor undue sensitiveness in international disputes; but, so long as human nature exists, so long as the primal savage can break so easily through the culture of two thousand years of Christianity, as it has in Europe, so long is a nation committing a crime against its sovereignty, its liberties and its people unless it is prepared to defend its territory and its homes. If the doctrine of peace at any price had prevailed at the time of the Revolution, there would have been no Fourth of July and no United States. If it had prevailed at the time of the War of 1812, the American flag could never have protected American citizens upon the ocean. If it had prevailed in 1861, we would now have probably

a Northern confederacy, a Southern confederacy, a Western confederacy, a Pacific Coast confederacy instead of this glorious Union which is the last and only refuge free from danger to the liberties of mankind. If I understand Mr. Bryan's programme of peace, it may be illustrated by a story told many years ago by that rare humorist, John Phoenix. He said he was editing a newspaper in Phoenix, Arizona. An angry citizen objected to an article he had written, knocked him down, sat astride and was pounding him. Then, said Phoenix, I got the better of the brute, holding him down by inserting my nose between his teeth.

It has become a habit with some of our statesmen and orators to depreciate the ability, and especially the farsightedness, of the framers of the Constitution. They say that competent as the members of that great convention may have been to deal with conditions in their time, they were wholly unable to grasp the growth and expansion of the country and its future needs. The Constitution which they gave us has been all sufficient for every crisis through which we have passed and every problem we have encountered in the one hundred and twenty-six years since it was adopted. It has been the breath of our national life. While the constitutions of every country in the world have been altered and revolutionized many times during this period, the Constitution of the

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United States remains practically as it came from the fathers. It was sufficient for the narrow strip of settlements along the Atlantic coast and the thirteen original States with their three millions of people. It meets every requirement and provides for every necessity of forty-eight States covering the continent and with a population of one hundred millions. It has been equal to territorial expansion, to the formation of new commonwealths and their incorporation into the Federal Union, to the government of alien colonies beyond the seas and to the perils of war and the greater perils of peace. "Ah," say the iconoclasts, "what did those ancient fossils know of the initiative, referendum, recall, working men's compensation, old age pensions, prohibition and woman suffrage?" They knew nothing and if they had known would undoubtedly have been opposed to them all, but with wisdom which was almost, if not entirely, inspired, they gave to their posterity a framework of principle so broad and elastic that in their administration we are permitted to try and test them all. They left the largest liberty and limitations and restraint only of time for discussion and deliberation to succeeding generations. Let us on this Fourth of July renew our faith and loyalty to our glorious Constitution and our gratitude and reverence to the matchless men who gave to us this priceless heritage. Let us all be Americans

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to-day, let us make each recurring Fourth of July a university for teaching American citizenship and loyalty to the Constitution and the Flag. There were no British-Americans in the Revolutionary War; our citizenship to-day and forever must know only Americans.

Well, my friends, it is both significant and fortunate that this Fourth of July falls upon Sunday. In ordinary times it is regarded as unfortunate because, though the celebration comes on Monday, it is never the same, but more like a warmed over dinner. In this horrible war in Europe five millions of the flower of the manhood of those countries have been slain or maimed. In another six months there will be five millions more slaughtered or rendered helpless for life. From seven to ten million old men, women and children have been driven from their destroyed homes, their properties taken and are facing the imminent peril of starvation. The national debts of all the countries involved were at the beginning of the war twenty thousand millions of dollars. It is now forty-five thousand millions, and if the war lasts a year longer it will be a hundred thousand millions. This means a burden of taxation upon a people already exhausted that would have been frightful in their most prosperous days. It means general poverty and handicaps upon prosperity never experienced before. But while this conflagration is consum-

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ing these nations, we, three thousand miles across the ocean, were never so peaceful, never so happy, never so secure in our homes, in our families and in our liberty. Happily our Fourth of July, which means and expresses all that we have been, all that we are and all that we hope for, comes on the Sabbath Day. It is the day when we offer up our petitions at the Altar of God, when we express our gratitude and thankfulness for His Son; it is the day when with one voice and one heart we can thank Him for our country and bless God that we are Americans.

Speech at the Dinner Given by the Pilgrim
Society of New York to the Allies' Loan
Envoys from Great Britain and France at
Sherry's, September 30, 1915.

*Mr. President, Lord Chief Justice Reading,
Monsieur Homberg, Gentlemen of the Society:*

We are very fortunate to-night. We participate in several rare privileges. One is to hear our President, Mr. Choate, at his best, after his long and most brilliant career. I have been speaking on all sorts of subjects and occasions on the same platform with Mr. Choate for a half a century or more. He is the only man who, regardless of political consequences or adverse criticism, has always been relied upon to say boldly, emphatically and clearly what everybody thinks but nobody dares utter. He never gave a more remarkable illustration of this faculty than in his speech to-night. The wild applause with which it has been received demonstrates that he uttered what everybody here believes and thinks. We have also enjoyed a rare treat of epigram and philosophic maxims of wit and humor from our friend Francis Patrick Murphy. The brightest dinner is dull without him, and the dullest a success with him. He neatly conveyed to us that he

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was familiar with French, by giving a translation of the speech just made by the Chairman of the French delegation. The success of the effort was unquestioned, because none of the rest of us knew whether his translation was correct or not.

Lord Reading's address was a marvel in what it revealed by concealment and suggestion. It was a masterpiece of that suppressed feeling occasioned by the most tremendous crisis of its history in which his country is engaged, which is more effective than an outburst, because everybody feels the force of the volcano and the wonderful power which keeps the cap tightly screwed on.

We have entertained gentlemen from the other side, distinguished in nearly every walk of life, eminent diplomatists, statesmen, men of letters, explorers and scientists have been our guests, but this is the first time that we have been in touch with a billion of dollars. There is no stronger testimony to equality than the democracy of legs under the same table. We have it here to-night while we, The Pilgrims, enjoy that relationship with these envoys of the accumulated wealth of Great Britain and France. The English Pilgrim Society has no standing in Lombard Street, the New York Pilgrims have no credit in Wall Street, not even in this sky-rocketing market.

When I first came to New York more than

fifty years ago, from the country, or, to be accurate, from Peekskill, my guide, who was starting me on my career, pointed out an important looking man to whom everybody was paying deference. He said: "There is a man you want to know." I said, "Is he a great banker or merchant?" Because I was looking for clients. He said, "He is neither, but he is close to capital." Gentlemen, by this contact, we have arrived at this enviable position.

This delegation illustrates the upward progress of lawyers. Magna Charta is the common foundation of both English and American liberty. A lawyer wrote it, but it was signed by the Barons, who made their marks and stamped their seals with the hilts of their swords, because they could neither read nor write, but they were so jealous of that lawyer that posterity does not know his name. When I first became an attorney for the New York Central Railroad Company, fifty years ago next January, the Law Department was far distant from the Executive, but with the innumerable conflicting and obscure laws which have been passed by National and State Legislatures against railroads, the Law Department is now the largest and most important in the service, and no railway president or manager dares move without a lawyer at his elbow.

For the first time in the history of finances, the greatest financial transaction in history has

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for its Chairman and Chief the head of the English Bar, the Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain.

I have been for more than a generation, attending banquets in Paris and London. At the French celebration the American sentiment is always one of gratitude to that gallant nation which came to our assistance with army, navy and money when, without that aid, it is doubtful if our independence could have been won. The French reciprocate by acknowledging the principles of liberty brought back by Lafayette and the French army, which have evolved into the Republic which is standing to-day and fighting to-day as one man, one woman and one child for the preservation of those liberties. In London the sentiment is ever and always consanguinity of blood and the heritage in the common law, in the common language and glorious literature. These sentiments have been of incalculable value, because oft-repeated, so as never to be forgotten in preserving peace between Great Britain and the United States for over a hundred years, and between France and the United States for a hundred and thirty-seven years. But the previous century was one of sentiment.

Genius, gifted with imagination, wrote great poems and immortal works of fiction, but our century is pre-eminently and disastrously practical and materialistic. The imagination, which

might elevate the race by immortal epics or wonderful works of fiction, is engaged in invention, in wireless telegraphy and in wireless telephone by which yesterday afternoon the human voice pierced the enveloping air of the globe and carried on a conversation four thousand five hundred miles away. The day is not distant when the speeches at a Pilgrim Society in London and the Sister Society in New York will be enjoyed simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. That will be a marvelous triumph for peace. Then there will be no interval for misunderstanding and no excuse for disagreements.

Now the visit of our guests and the marvelous success of their two weeks' campaign shows that, in the realm of finance, these century-old sentiments between the United States, Great Britain and France are turned into cash for the promotion of the prosperity, commerce and the financial integrity of these three great nations.

There has been much criticism of this loan, mainly from people of three kinds. Those who do not understand it, those who do not want to understand it and those who have plenty of theory but never had any cash. These last are the ones who are most fearful that somebody will lose money. To dispose of our enormous and unprecedented crops, to keep in constant and remunerative employment our capital and our labor, we must have a market

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for the products of the farm and the factory or there follows stagnation, congestion, bankruptcy and unemployment. This loan solves that situation. Our customers get what they want, and we sell what we are most anxious to part with, at good prices. That we should both provide the goods and also the money to buy them is a novel problem in finance characteristic of this marvelous age. It solves the difficulty which has faced mankind ever since leather was invented, and that is, how to lift oneself over a fence by the straps of one's boots. But the problem is solved by the success of that modern invention *aeration*. By magic unprecedented in the history of the greatest financial nations of the world, credit and cash become convertible, and the international necessity of sale and purchase proceed upon lines of unexampled magnitude and profit.

My friend, Mr. William J. Bryan, is a never-ending source of surprise and admiration. There is no subject which he does not tackle instantaneously and with confidence. He has the satisfaction of having many of his theories embalmed in statutes when his party has been in power. The success of their practical application is another matter. In an utterance, I think, at Atlanta, Ga., a few days since, he denounced this loan and said it ought to be prohibited because it would take five hundred millions of dollars out of the country when we

sadly need that money for our own industries. Our friend, Mr. Bryan, followed a not unusual habit of dodging a fact to make a point. Why, this vast amount of money comes out of Wall Street, which he detests, and out of investors, whom he distrusts, and instead of going abroad goes into the pockets of his neighbors, the farmers of Nebraska, and the artisans and workmen of every mine, mill and factory in the United States!

One of the most interesting studies, to the social philosopher, is the changes which occur in the relative positions of creditors and debtors as time goes on. The transition is easy both up and down. After the Plymouth Colony, some years following its landing on Plymouth Rock, had become a settled community, it found the necessity for money, principally to fight the Indians. The Colony sent to England Captain Miles Standish, the Commander of its military forces, to secure a loan. After much trouble he succeeded by pledging practically all there was of the then United States in borrowing one hundred and fifty pounds at fifty per cent. interest. Now London, or rather Great Britain, after two hundred and ninety years, comes to the descendants of those Colonists and borrows without difficulty one hundred million pounds at five per cent. interest. Of course, conditions have changed, but then the leading financier in the first instance was a military man, and

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military men are notoriously bad financiers—their errors being in proportion to their fame in arms; but the head of this second commission is a lawyer, and there you are!

When one has advanced along in the eighties like Brother Choate and myself, we grow fond of reminiscences, of comparisons between the old and the new, and especially of anniversaries like birthdays and centennials. This year is remarkable, most remarkable, as rounding out and completing a hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain, and a hundred and thirty-seven years with France. There have been greater causes, many times, for war between the United States and Great Britain during this period than the one, or ones, which have brought on this frightful world conflict. The old Romans had an idea of peace, though they seldom practiced it. They built a temple to Janus, the God of Peace, whose doors were to be open in time of war and closed when peace reigned. They were shut but once in four hundred years. The doors of the temple of Janus are wide open in Europe, Asia, Africa, India and the Islands of the Sea. They are closed between America and the United States.

The boundary line between the United States and Canada is longer than that between Germany and France or Russia and Germany or both combined, and yet on it has stood for a

century neither a fort nor a soldier. The Great Lakes washing the shores of both countries, and which could carry the navies of the world, bear the fleets of commerce, but no vessels of war.

The most critical questions, full of hostile possibilities, have been settled by diplomacy and arbitration. Boundary lines have been amicably agreed upon, which involved an empire in extent. Fisheries' rights, always a fruitful source of international difficulties, have been permanently adjusted, and ever-recurring crises on the interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine have been submitted to the judgment of international tribunals. Here is presented the most magnificent example in all history of the possibilities of peace between great nations when they are inspired by sentiments of justice and humanity.

The peace of 1815, between the United States and Great Britain, was made at the City of Ghent by Commissioners representing the two countries. When the treaty had been signed the city gave a banquet to the commissioners. At the conclusion of the banquet John Quincy Adams, afterwards President of the United States, rising, offered this toast:

“May the doors of the temple of Janus, which have been closed this day, remain shut for a hundred years.”

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The toast was the bubbling sentiment of the evening, given at a time of almost universal wars, and which all cheered, but in which none believed. It proved, however, to be a prophecy rather than a sentiment. In February last the hundred years of the toast were completed and now, as between Great Britain and the United States, the hinges of the doors of the temple of Janus are so completely rusty that no power on earth can ever again pry them open. The two countries were approaching significant celebrations of this most auspicious event; a distinguished English committee came here on that mission and Americans visited the Mother country. It was proposed to buy and dedicate ancient monuments and to build new ones. It was proposed to have civic celebrations, processions and fireworks. The war made all these plans impossible and also any celebration of this great event. But, I submit that higher and greater and more significant than memorials, processions and meetings is the conclusion, the successful and triumphant conclusion, of the mission of these Anglo-French commissioners to the United States.

We have started the second hundred years of peace with a mighty memorial of international confidence and friendship. The old sentiment of President Adams materializes in a contract rich with possibilities of international peace and prosperity, and the triumph of those

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principles of liberty for which the English speaking people of the world pre-eminently stand. The financial genius of the two countries has found what the philosophers, scientists and wizards of the middle ages longed for. The alchemy by which the credit of one country becomes the gold of the other, by which francs and pounds, shillings and pence, and dollars and cents lose their differences in value and stand on a parity for the preservation of that interchange between nations which is the surest foundation of peace, prosperity and liberty.

THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

Address before the West Side Young Men's
Christian Association, New York City,
October 22, 1915.

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

Your Director has imposed upon me a task which is not easy. You are a class studying the art of public speaking. The suggestion is that you may learn something from the experience of a man who is a veteran on the platform.

The foundation and superstructure of public speaking is hard work. It can be acquired. When Disraeli made his first speech in the House of Commons, he was overwhelmed with contemptuous laughter. He shouted to his tormentors, "You will yet hear me," and worked as few are willing to make that challenge good. He became in time master of the House of Commons and its most effective debater.

The essentials of success are knowledge of the subject, lucidity in expressing your ideas and clear enunciation. Every man, and in these suffrage days many women, desire to become public speakers. People in every walk of life find occasions when this talent would be most useful. Army and navy officers, no matter how great their fame, would count it more

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gratifying than a victory if they could capture an audience by successful appeal. In our country especially the opportunities are infinite and the demand constant for speakers. There is no greater exhibition of power or of wider influence than swaying a legislative body in the enactment of laws or the defeat of vicious measures. This same is true with audiences, whether the occasion be religious, political or educational. The most serious popular delusion, in regard to public speaking, is that it is a gift and requires little or no effort.

A man who had been successful in his business walked with me from an important dinner, where I had made a speech. He told me that his great ambition was to be an after-dinner speaker, but while he had secured invitations, they were never repeated. "So," he said, "I have been following you around and to-night have learned your secret. You play with a cigar without lighting it. That calls attention. Afterwards you put your thumb in the pocket of your vest, as if you were seeking for your notes. That keeps the attention." I told him, "Old man, you have it. Get your dry cigar and vest pocket." He found it did not work. He could not grasp that it is not mannerisms which make the speaker, but ideas and their presentation.

There is an old Latin motto, that from nothing nothing comes, and this is true of an

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empty head. The speaker should know more of the subject upon which he talks than his audience. He should have the ability, which can be acquired, of marshalling what he knows so as to present it in logical form and with an attractive garb. Few people think. To think is for them hard work. I mean by this that the average man and woman are absorbed in their life work or vocation. They give little attention and less thought to questions outside their immediate lives and activities. That is the reason that we require teachers, preachers and lecturers. It is easier to grasp a subject through the ear than through the eye. What is learned through the eye requires mental exertion to grasp, assimilate and remember, but the preacher or the orator does all this work for the hearer, and the hearers have pictured upon their brains the ideas of the speaker and his reasons for them.

The influence of the speaker is one of degree; some can command the attention of the audience to the end, and some can excel in emptying a hall. One of the best lawyers and most acute thinkers I ever knew was a failure before a popular audience. Men of far less ability were much more acceptable to the people. The reason was that he had devoted his life to mastering the intricacies and subtleties of the law for the advice of his clients and to address the court. He could not make plain, simple,

clear and attractive his views upon politics before a miscellaneous audience.

Speakers may be divided into three classes: talkers, speakers and orators. Any man of fair education and ability can become a talker or a speaker, but an orator is endowed with a gift. Nobody, however endowed, can be a successful talker, speaker or orator except by application, constant study and work. The greatest of painters are the hardest workers, and keep learning more and creating better pictures the longer they live. The most popular of favorites are the actors and actresses who interpret upon the stage and present, as living examples, the creations of the dramatist. The success of the speaker or preacher is in doing the same with his ideas. The leaders of the labor unions are all good speakers; their success is due to the fact that they can put into words and tell their mates what they all want and how to present it so as to have effect with employers and with the public. The clear thinker and good talker, that is, the one who is most familiar and most the master of the subject in hand, is most influential at the meeting of a Board of Directors or Trustees, at a church gathering, at a town meeting, in a Board of Aldermen or in the Legislature.

Daniel Webster was the ablest and most effective orator, not only in his time, but in the whole period of our country's existence. A common

remark of the average citizen, after leaving the hall, or the gallery of the Senate, or the Court was, "Why, Webster said just what I think." That man had done no thinking, but Webster had put the question so clearly and explained it so plainly that the delighted auditor humped himself with the idea that his head-piece was as good as Webster's. The result was that Webster converted the Senate, the Court and the crowd. Webster's presentation of his argument was so simple that it conveyed the impression of no effort, and yet, though he had surpassing genius, no speaker ever worked harder. In a famous debate in the Senate, which had come up unexpectedly, Webster arose and delivered one of the greatest speeches ever heard in that body. When asked by an amazed friend how he could deliver an address so perfect in every way, when it was transparently impromptu, Webster's answer was, "I have been preparing that speech for thirty years." Webster's memory and his gift of immediately calling into service all that he knew of the subject in hand enabled him to deliver speeches which were really thoroughly prepared, but seemed spontaneous.

One who wishes to be a public speaker should first write out his speeches; he should try with short ones, commit the speech to memory, if possible, and if he cannot commit it to memory, read it. The spoken word, however, is much

more effective. Few people are endowed with perfect memory. William H. Seward, whom I knew very well, was a great statesman and an effective orator. He told me that in his long and brilliant career he had never delivered a speech unless he had written it with care and committed it to memory, but he said the second reading of his speech memorized it perfectly.

Roscoe Conkling, in the campaign for the election of General Garfield, delivered a speech in the Academy of Music which required four hours in delivery. His Secretary told that, while Senator Conkling spent several weeks preparing it, he spent an equal amount of time committing it to memory so perfectly that no interruption could disturb his delivery. A newspaper man, who sat behind him with the printed slips covering ten columns of a New York newspaper, told me that Mr. Conkling never missed a sentence in the whole speech, and had no notes except a few memoranda on the cuff of his shirt sleeve. These examples of great orators show how hard they worked even in their prime and at the height of their success, but they had worked still harder in the early days before they had won fame. It is not given to everybody to have this verbal memory. If I may speak of myself, I do not possess it at all. My substitute for it, if the effort is a serious one, is to first write my speech out or

dictate it to a stenographer; then, while I cannot commit it, I can follow the sequence of my ideas and deliver the address without notes as if it had not been written. The ideas and arguments are the same, but the language and sentences differ. Of course, that requires practice.

The oldest example of oratory was Demosthenes and he was the greatest orator of his time. He lived in the Athenian Republic, where laws were made and repealed, and statesmen promoted or condemned, by the vote of the people. The whole voting population of Athens could be gathered upon the hill where stood the Acropolis. In the clear air of Athens the orator could be heard for a great distance. I tried it myself when I was in that city. I stood on the Mars Hill, on the spot which tradition assigns to St. Paul when he addressed the Areopagites. There were some Greeks working on the road about half a mile distant. With my Peekskill tenor voice I shouted at them St. Paul's sermon, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." The effect was immediate, though I spoke, of course, in English. They seized their picks, crowbars and shovels and ran towards me. I made a hasty retreat. Probably some of them had been in America and understood. Anyhow I proved that Demosthenes and St. Paul could be heard at great distance. Athens, with several hundred thou-

sand people, had less than twenty thousand citizen voters in Demosthenes' time. His platform, a flat rock with a high rock as a sounding board behind, is still there, and he and his rivals had before them on the plateau the whole electorate. The best speaker swayed the crowd, had them adopt his policy and was made the leader. Demosthenes stammered so that it was impossible for him to speak effectively. He spent days, and weeks, and months on the seashore speaking to the waves with pebbles in his mouth until he overcame the defect. His advice to a pupil, who wanted to learn the art of public speaking, was "action, action, action," meaning work, work, work to master your subject so that you are perfectly familiar with everything that can be said in its favor, and every objection that can be made to it. Then work to acquire the habit of explaining your topic so that it will be as clear to the listener as it is to you, and then work in acquiring the clear enunciation which is the main secret of a good speaker, that is, each word of the sentence heard. Cicero remarked that loud-bawling orators were driven by their weakness to noise, as lame men to take a horse. This brings us to delivery. The most essential thing is clear articulation. Don't put the listener to the trouble of trying to hear. After one or two efforts he will stop trying and go out. Do not bawl. Noise is not speaking or oratory.

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The most effective speaker I ever heard was Wendell Phillips. He made few gestures and rarely raised his voice above a conversational tone, but his articulation was so perfect he could be heard everywhere, and, of course, his method of putting his thought was not only simple but most impressive and effective. He had the gift, without which a speaker never amounts to much, of transparent sincerity. You will not convince your audience unless you are saturated and almost fanatical with and in your faith. Many a pleasing speaker delights an audience with his wit, his repartee, his hits and sharp thrusts, but makes no converts. The audience believe he could talk quite as well on the other side.

At one time, in London, I heard at Westminster Abbey Canon Farrar. He read his sermon. It was a classic in the purity of its English, the brilliancy of its thought and its sustained elevation to the end; it could take its place in the books among the masterpieces of English literature. It was a coldly intellectual appeal to the minds of his congregation. Such an address demanded a cultured audience and had its fit setting in Westminster Abbey. The next Sunday I went to the Temple and heard the famous preacher, Mr. Spurgeon. His church was crowded, a congregation of nearly ten thousand. The congregation were middle-class English tradesmen, small shopkeepers

and mechanics. It was an intensely earnest and emotional crowd. Spurgeon, simply dressed and without clerical robes, stood upon a platform on which he could command the floor and the galleries. He knew his Bible by heart, he had absorbed its letter and spirit, he made you feel that the Prophets, the Apostles and Christ were talking to you in person. His audience was swayed by intense emotion, sometimes evinced in groans or shouts. In an earlier generation they would have been led by him to the battlefield at Naseby or Marston Moor to fight for Puritan ideals.

These eminent preachers were conspicuous examples of clear enunciation. No member of the congregation missed a word. I know some fine preachers and public speakers who would be much more effective if they practiced this habit. They apparently think that it adds emphasis to their utterances to drop the voice on the words which close a sentence. These are usually the key words to their thought. If the auditors do not hear these words, they fail to grasp the speaker's thought, or if they strain to listen, they get tired and stop the effort. This lowering of the voice below easy hearing is a common fault and injures the reputation and usefulness of some superior thinkers, preachers and speakers. Another common error is to place the emphasis on every word. It was said of Webster that when speaking of the Constitu-

tion or the Union, these words, when dropped, weighed twelve pounds. The speaker can easily acquire the habit of giving effect to that part of his sentences which clinches his thought.

Extemporaneous speaking, or speaking without notes, requires a full knowledge and clear idea of what you want to say. Acquire the habit of expressing audibly your thought. Think out the line of argument you intend to follow and go over it many times before making your speech. At each repetition new ideas and better ways of expressing them will occur. It is in this way that effective illustrations or apt anecdotes will be suggested. A political speaker's first address is far different from his last. While he follows the same line each night, the speech improves in matter and manner with each repetition. Do not tell a story unless it illumines your argument. If to the point, a story is very effective and will be remembered long after your auditors have forgotten your speech. But too many anecdotes weaken an argument. Few people can tell a story so as to bring out the snapper, and a good story badly told is an anticlimax and fatal.

Some of the most effective speeches have been short ones. The debaters whom I met in my two terms in the New York Legislature fifty odd years ago, and my two terms in the United States Senate, were the ones who could concentrate the meat of the question at issue in

twenty minutes or an hour. The most remarkable example of this is the contrast between Edward Everett and President Lincoln at Gettysburg. Everett, as usual with him, prepared his speech with great care, had written, rewritten and polished it to perfection, committed it to memory and practiced it before a glass. It was the perfection of art in everything which constitutes a great speech. But it was art. It took two hours in delivery. Mr. Lincoln wrote his speech on an envelope coming from Washington. It was a five-minute address, but with sublime simplicity and wonderful imagery it condensed the spirit and purpose for which the soldiers, buried at Gettysburg, had died. Everett's oration is forgotten, but Lincoln's speech is held as a masterpiece of oratory wherever the English language is spoken.

When General Grant came to New York after his retirement from the presidency, he was invited to all the banquets of the different nationalities, of the patriotic societies, of the great trade bodies and military organizations and accepted many of them. Of course, he was the drawing card of the evening and expected to speak. At first his efforts were brief, halting and painful. He told me his knees knocked together under the table. But with determination and persistence, which were his characteristics, he kept on trying until he could make a very good speech.

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Well, young gentlemen, you have here an excellent school with proved results. If you are so resolved to win that failure is an inspiration for greater efforts, you may hopefully expect a future of usefulness and of pleasure to yourselves and others.

Speech at the Dinner of the Yale Club, New
York, Celebration of the Opening of the
New Club House, November 18, 1915.

*Mr. President, Representatives of our Sister
Universities, Mr. President of Yale and Fellow
Alumni:*

I have been for sixty years of strenuous life endeavoring by the alchemy of imagination as an inspiration for work to turn dreams into realities and hopes into success. The result is seldom accomplished. When it is, there is a permanent triumph for the individual for a cause or an institution. This would be a dreary world except for idealism, and a very stupid one except for idealists. I love a man whose rainbow ends always in a pot of gold, though he never draws enough from the pot to pay me what he borrows.

These observations are suggested by the reflections which are forced upon me from my experience of the past and present with the Yale Alumni of New York.

I was President of the first Alumni Association formed in this city, about forty years ago, and continued as such for the succeeding ten years. Our dreams during that period were to have a suite of rooms which should be all our

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own; our hopes, to secure a small house in a neighborhood where real estate had been so hard hit by residential and business changes that comfort would come cheap. In the course of time the Association, after various removals, built the Club house in Forty-fourth street and merged it into the Club. Now to-night we are celebrating the successful completion of the finest, the largest, the most finished and complete University Club House in the world. Dreams, hopes and the wildest of imaginings are all more than realized.

I extend to the Building Committee, the Finance Committee and the Architect congratulations and gratitude from every Alumnus in the United States.

Being in the directory of the New York Central Railroad, which corporation owned this land, and as a member of this Club, I was in touch with both ends of the negotiations so successfully completed for the Railroad and the Club. The success of those negotiations were due to Director William H. Newman, representing the Railroad, and the Finance Committee, representing the Club. I take my hat off in the presence of that Finance Committee. With little to bargain with except hopes, the way in which their lively imaginations convinced the hard-headed railroad negotiator that their hopes were realities was a triumph of high finance, and as we examine this perfection of

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their hopes in cash, and its wise expenditures, I am reminded of an incident in the life of an old colleague of mine.

After graduation, and being admitted to the Bar, he went West to seek his fortune. He became a successful Railway President and organized a large railway system. To breathe again the atmosphere of his youth, he returned after many years to the New England hamlet where he was born. At night he went down to the grocery, where the elder Statesmen every evening held their Parliament around the stove and discussed men and things. He was warmly greeted and the patriarch gently stroking his chin whiskers said, "Well, Bill, they dew say around here that you are gittin' a salary of \$10,000 a year." He was getting many times that, but he modestly answered, "Uncle Josiah, that is true." "Wall, wall," says Uncle Josiah, "that shows what cheek and sarcumstances will do for a man."

Our association held monthly meetings at different hotels, had papers read by distinguished Professors in the college, and discussions upon them; had the successful teams down to tell the stories of their victories, and in those days they were generally victories, and wound up with a supper praiseworthy for its frugality and temperance. Harvard and Princeton formed like associations. Yearly each of them had a dinner to which the others were invited.

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I recall a memorable night with our Princeton brethren. At that time the venerable and distinguished Scotchman, Mr. McCosh, was President of Princeton. He was a remarkable man in many ways, and peculiarly Scotch in his serious turn of mind. He had gained millions of endowment and gifts for Princeton, while Yale at that time did not have much and was receiving very little.

Mr. Beaman, a fine lawyer, and the worthy son-in-law and partner of the then country's foremost and greatest lawyer, William M. Evarts, of '37, was President of the Harvard Alumni Association. Beaman said to me, "The evening is tiresome, let us relieve the situation. You attack President McCosh and I will defend him." I alluded to the success of Princeton's President in securing these then fabulous sums and intimated that he had a grip on the Presbyterian conscience, which made every rich member of that Faith believe that the only sure gate to Heaven was remembering Princeton in his will. Beaman, with great indignation, remarkably well played, added to the charge by his defense. He said it was infamous to say that Princeton's President had early intimations of the threatened departure to the other world of a millionaire and shouted, "I do not believe that President McCosh ever sat by the bedside of a dying man and told him that salvation was certain only by a large gift

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to Princeton." The President arose to his feet and shouted in broad Scotch, "Niver, Niver!" "Or," continued Beaman, "that he ever sat beside the bed of a dying woman and gave her the same message." And dear old Dr. McCosh, with greater emphasis, shouted, "Niver, niver, niver, niver!"

I recall the first Yale banquet ever held in New York. To-night is its successor. The dinner was at old Delmonico's in Fourteenth Street. According to the program the speakers began with the oldest graduate present, and continued according to age of graduation. The speeches were very long and very dull. One eminent Divine became so unduly excited by applause ironically intended to make him stop, that his teeth dropped into his goblet.

About two o'clock in the morning, the President announced that the opportunity was now open for the younger men, and to make their own selection. There was a unanimous call for a recent graduate, with a shock of red hair, red whiskers and mustache and bulging eyes that nearly pushed his glasses off his nose. For the benefit of the elders who had bored us so with their long speeches, he said: "It is too late to make a speech, but I will tell a story.

"Down in Barnegat, New Jersey, where I live, the people believe in the tonic properties of apple-jack. One of our citizens, returning from town with his jug full, saw a thirsty neigh-

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bor leaning over the gate and said, 'Here, friend,' handing him the jug, 'take a swig.' The neighbor pulled the corncob stopper, sampled it, and then raised the bottom higher and higher until the whole gallon disappeared down his throat. The indignant owner said, 'You infernal hog, what did you do that for?' The neighbor said, 'I beg your pardon, but I have lost all my teeth, and so could not bite off the tap.' "

The other night Harvard celebrated the opening of the new annex to its club house in Forty-fourth Street. The enthusiastic Harvard reporter, in describing the occasion in the morning newspapers, fell short of adjectives, and so he reported that President Emeritus Eliot received the greatest cheers ever heard in Forty-fourth Street; President Lowell received the greatest cheers ever heard in Forty-fourth Street; that Joseph H. Choate received the greatest cheers ever heard in Forty-fourth Street, and two chauffeurs, fighting in front of the club houses had the greatest fight ever seen in Forty-fourth Street.

This Club, rearing its storied heights to the sky, at the terminal of two great railway systems which extend East, West, North and South, all over the continent, receives its congratulations and sends its cheers along lines of railway and electric and wireless telegraph all over the world. It has graduated from

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Forty-fourth Street and hitched its chariot to the stars.

There are two notable deliverances which have influenced vitally the progress, development and liberty of the world. One is that declaration in the charter framed in the cabin of the Mayflower for the government of the Pilgrim Colony, that we form a government of just and equal laws. The other, the charter framed two hundred and fourteen years afterwards by Yale College, to form a college to train students "For public service in church and civil state." The Mayflower declaration has been the cornerstone of American liberty and the inspiration in liberalizing governments all over the world. The other declaration has sent into the Presidency, into the Supreme Court of the United States, into the Congress of the United States, into the Judiciary and Executive Offices and Legislatures of all the states, in the pulpit, the press, the teacher's chair and on the platform men from Yale who have gloriously demonstrated that they were trained by their Alma Mater for public service in church and civil state.

The greatest distinction of my class of 1856, while in College, and its most delightful recollection, is that for its four years it had among its Professors the most witty and most learned of men, Professor Hadley. In April of our senior year the news was flashed over the Campus

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that a son had been born to this great teacher. We instantly organized a torchlight procession and with a band of music serenaded the arrival. The yell which came through the window, answering our cheers, convinced us that there had come into the world a new and mighty force for the country and the college. His years of glorious work for the public service in church and civil state has demonstrated that the then young class of '56, of sixty years ago, had sized up rightly President Hadley of Yale University.

Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Amen
Corner, Being the Fifteenth Anniversary
of the Society, Waldorf-Astoria, New York,
December 3, 1915,

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

As I was one of the guests at the first dinner of the Amen Corner, and, with few exceptions, have been present at all its successors, it has fallen to my lot to say a word on this, its fifteenth anniversary, as to the origin, purposes, and spirit of the Amen Corner.

The State Republican headquarters were, for almost a generation, at the old Fifth Avenue Hotel. On the famous sofa in the corner of the lobby gathered the representatives of the press, waiting for news as to appointments and legislation, and impartially sizing up and analyzing ambitious statesmen who were looking for promotion or a job. Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., Chairman of the State Committee, and an invaluable aid to the Amen Corner, in revelations which meant space, had just been elected Governor of the State of New York. The Brethren of the Amen Corner decided to celebrate that event by a dinner. The dinner was in recognition and celebration of Mr. Odell's elevation, but a guest of honor was Senator Thomas C. Platt, who lived at the hotel. He had been for twenty years the acknowledged

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leader of his party in the State, and in an unusual way the source of power and patronage. While such party management has been characterized as invisible government, and doubtless was so in many States, Senator Platt as an “easy boss” took the public into his confidence. Once a week the leading members of the Legislature and party leaders, both State and National, gathered in his rooms at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and there were proposed and discussed men and measures.

The Brethren of the Amen Corner were practically parties to these discussions, and through their newspapers revealed to the country and the State the policy of the party for the future.

I am sure we all remember the almost pathetic pride with which the aged and feeble Senator laughed with his tormentors and enjoyed the jokes at his expense, and in the true spirit of the occasion, and the broad charity when others were flayed which characterized the man.

We welcome here this evening Governor Odell, who was the inspiration of this organization. While many of those present on that famous night have joined the majority, time has so lightly touched our friend, Governor Odell, that he is just as hale, hearty and handsome as ever.

Fifteen years count for little in the passage of time, but the fifteen years from nineteen hundred to nineteen fifteen have witnessed remarkable evolutions and revolutions. Mc-

Kinley had been re-elected, and his wonderful faculty for conciliation, and his talent for winning opponents by always soothing their disappointment with a promise of something just as good, had almost destroyed partisanship. Cleveland, who had retired from office four years before by unanimous consent as the most unpopular of our Presidents, was rising rapidly in public esteem to the position in which his memory is now held as one of the ablest and most courageous of the Presidents of the United States. McKinley was sitting on and holding down the cap of a volcano, though he did not know it. The tremendous and unprecedented progress of the country, since the Civil War, in the development of its resources, the expansions of its industries, and the utilization of inventions, had produced on the one hand great corporations and large accumulations of wealth, and on the other a grave unrest and distrust, which were rapidly dividing the country into classes dangerous to the national peace. Revolution, which was threatened, was averted by regulation. The people took to themselves power without responsibility for results to manage and control the forces which they distrusted and feared. Whatever our differences of opinion, I think we will all agree now that this situation and those conditions were best met by a President with the qualities and peculiarities of Theodore Roosevelt.

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The people were anxious for a change. They wanted that change through the Democratic party. They wanted every variety of democracy, and certainly they secured it in Governor Dix, Governor Sulzer, Governor Glynn and President Wilson.

These conditions, so hastily sketched, were the opportunity of the Brethren of the Amen Corner. The fourth power in the State, the Press, needed to be supplemented by an organization which without malice could hold up the mirror in which public men and measures could be seen as they are. If the Governor, or the Mayor, or the Legislator lost his temper because he got, with others, a horizontal view of himself, his fall was rapid and oblivion claimed him for its own. If, on the other hand, he laughed and reformed, there was a future for him. Bobby Burns sang,

“Oh wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursel’s as ithers see us.”

Unhappily that power has been given only in rare instances and to very few. Hence, the number of follies which have ruined promising careers, and the number of able men who, from exaggerated vanity, have exhibited their folly.

The Amen Corner fills this necessity. It has no animosities, it has no partisanship, and, above all, it has no illusions. It is never

deceived by pretenses nor shams. It tries to reduce to a normal size the enlarged heads of the Henry Fords in public life. I have seen so many promising statesmen exploded by their own exaggerated idea of themselves because of rapid rise and sudden success, that I have charity for Henry Ford. It is not in human nature for a man to suddenly grow from two dollars and fifty cents a day to twenty millions of dollars a year without feeling and believing that he can put a crank anywhere into the mighty machinery of the world and move it as he will. Unless the Amen Corner reduces the size of his head, the world sees that the crank is in his own cranium.

When I was a Junior at Yale College, sixty-two years ago, there appeared one of the most remarkable men and greatest orators of that time, Tom Marshall of Kentucky. Though a wreck, there were flashes of his genius which we boys, gathering around him, keenly enjoyed. I remember one reminiscence. He said when he was speaking to a great audience in Detroit, as he was rising to the climax, with the crowd enthralled, a man brought him down several times by shouting, "Louder! Louder!" Marshall suddenly stopped and said, "When the end of the world shall come and the trumpet of the Archangel Gabriel shall fill not only the earth but the suns and stars of the universe, and call before the Great White Throne the

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unnumbered dead of all the ages, enthralled by the grandeur and volume of the celestial music, there will be a man from Detroit shouting, “Louder! Louder!”

Mr. Ford says that he has received letters from people of prominence on the other side commending his effort. I wonder if among these epistles there is one from the King of Greece. If so, it must read like this:

“MY DEAR MR. FORD:

“Peace is so important to me that I wish your effort every success. Sitting on the fence is most uncomfortable, and wabbling very dangerous. At present I am leaning toward the Allies, but do not know how long I can remain so, or how far I can go. Are you a married man?

“Yours,
“CONSTANTINE.”

As this fifteenth anniversary is rapidly passing, congratulations are in order. In matrimony, the fifteenth is celebrated by crystal. If it passes without a break, the family crockery is safe and peace and happiness assured to the end of their days. So we see in the success of to-night, happily following all its predecessors, a long and joyous career for the Brethren of the Amen Corner. As always catching the spirit of the hour, the keynote of to-night is pre-eminently America. Never in our history has

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it been so appropriate that we should on all occasions be Americans. The words of our national anthem, "My Country 'tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty, of Thee I Sing," should be translated into action. We have no animosities and no jealousies. We wish all nations and all peoples peace and prosperity, but like the lover for his bride, so is our affection for Columbia, and our hearts, our minds, our souls are for America first and America last.

“Keep A-Goin.’” Interview from The New York Tribune, December 6, 1915.

“KEEP A-GOIN’ ” DEPEW’S ADVICE TO THE AGED

Keep a-goin’.

Don’t think golf will take the place of a life work.

The mind and body must be kept busy to prevent their rusting.

It is not always a good thing to mind one’s own business.

Half of my friends have dug their graves with their teeth.

“Keep a-goin’!” That is Chauncey M. Depew’s advice to the aged. The veteran statesman, from the height of his eighty-one years, looked down with disapproval yesterday on the decision of L. M. Bowers to retire from the service of the Rockefeller interests because of his seventy years. Mr. Depew passed that milestone more than eleven years ago and is glad he kept on going.

“Mr. Bowers is making the mistake of his life,” he said yesterday afternoon. “I shall be eighty-two years old April 23 and I feel as well and capable as I did at seventy-two or at sixty-two or at fifty-two.

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“Gladstone won his greatest political triumphs after he was eighty. Commodore Vanderbilt made more than two-thirds of his vast fortune between the ages of seventy and eighty. Joseph Choate, who is eighty-four, is more sought for because of the excellent speeches he is now making than any other man in the United States, and he is still sought by clients as the leader of the bar. President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, at eighty-one, is writing articles for magazines and delivering lectures before scientific bodies and colleges which are recognized everywhere as the best thought on the subject.

“Luther said, in explaining why he worked so hard until the end of his life, ‘When I rest I rust.’ That is true. The mind and heart are machines. They must be kept busy to prevent their rusting. I have known many men who retired from work, as they said, to enjoy life. As a rule, after the first year they are bored blue. Then they begin to think more of their health than anything else. They imagine they have all the diseases described in patent medicine advertisements. Then they take the patent medicines. And then they die.

“To keep the mind and body active prevents worry from getting into the one and ill-health into the other. The greatest mistake any one can make is to stop working along the lines of his life’s occupation, unless he can find some-

“KEEP A-GOIN’”

thing to occupy his time and mind which is equally interesting. Golf is a pretty poor substitute for a life work. The peace ship, however—well, Ford is hardly old enough to be an example but I suspect that he will keep himself quite as busy getting millions of boys out of the trenches by Christmas as he was making automobiles in Detroit.

“I do everything I ever did, and enjoy it just as much. An elderly man does not live by his own work alone, of course, but by a wholesome interest in every department of life. He must know who the people are who are keeping things going in the world. It is not always a good thing to mind one’s own business.

“I am busy from 10 o’clock until midnight. It is work that counts. Eating and sleeping have little to do with health and longevity unless one indulges too much in them. Eight hours’ sleep is enough for most people, and as for food, half of my friends have dug their graves with their teeth.”

Preface Written to Arthur Wallace Dunn's
Volume, "Gridiron Nights."

"Gridiron Nights" is much more than a record of the wit and humor of a unique and happy organization of journalists. This historian with his facts gives the skeleton but not the life of the past. Humor is denied him. Politics and politicians are a peculiarly apt subject for the cartoonist, the caricaturist and the humorist. Presidents, Cabinet Officers, Senators and Representatives in Congress, and even high and mighty Ambassadors, have their brief time on the stage and disappear. But they are making history and the Gridiron catches it in the making and embalms it. These pages give flashlight pictures of contemporary celebrities and crises which present a close and intimate view of the human side of the celebrity and the sham in the crises which would otherwise be lost. It is to laugh—but the merry jesters are never vindictive or mean-spirited.

PREFACE TO "GRIDIRON NIGHTS"

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as ithers see us.
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
And foolish notion."

sang the immortal poet of the people.

The Gridiron Club holds up the mirror. The victim of Gridiron humor, if wise and receptive, may make a wry face as he laughs with his analyzers, but he sees his errors or follies or pretences, mends his ways and does better. If too obtuse or egotistic to recognize himself, the gates of obscurity are for him ajar.

This record of thirty years of the Club so admirably prepared and presented by Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn is more than a reminder of memorable nights at the National Capital. It will give pleasure to the reader and be a mine of information and realization of contemporary conditions for the student.

Sincerely yours,

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Speech at the Luncheon Given by the Pilgrim Society of New York to Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York City, December 23, 1915.

Mr. President, Sir Robert Borden, Gentlemen:

Mr. Choate says, introducing me to pronounce the benediction and close the entertainment, that I am to be its undertaker. But he and I along in the eighties are doing our best to postpone indefinitely the services of the funeral director. (Laughter and Applause.)

Though Mr. Choate's speech as chairman was the most warlike expression of Allied sympathies yet heard, he expressed to me a fear that he had not made himself quite clear. (Laughter.) After listening to the address of Sir Robert Borden and our chairman, no one can have any doubt as to what is the expression and sentiment of this meeting. In this it differs, and I see Judge Gary before me, from a recent famous banquet, which arouses the futile curiosity (Laughter and Applause) of the world and send chills down the spines of statesmen who have their lightning rods up. (Laughter.)

It is a great pleasure and a rare privilege we

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enjoy to-day. We are a neutral people and enjoying all the blessings of peace. But we are enduring from day to day all the agonies of war. That is because our feelings are so deeply enlisted. We are met in the morning with news of battles and losses, and our evening paper carries us into the night with more of the horrors and the hell of war. This tension is relieved by a speech like that which we have just listened to from the Prime Minister of Canada. It is an inspiring lesson for universal peace. While maintaining with eloquence, earnestness and patriotism the righteousness of his cause, nevertheless there is a wonderful meaning in his statement of the fact that while in the last one hundred years there have been six prime crises in the affairs of the United States and Great Britain growing out of difficulties with Canada, that every one of them have been settled by arbitration. Several of them were more provocative of strife, and involved larger and more productive territories, than the causes which lead to the present war or the whole Balkan territory. (Applause.) That shadow line of four thousand miles, across which only one step carries the citizen or the soldier is without a fort or a sentinel, and has been thus for a century. It is a monument for justice and Christianity in the settlement of international disputes. We Yankees are said to have as two dominant characteristics inquisi-

tiveness and acquisitiveness. We admit the charge, but we apply neither of these faculties to Canada. We do not want an inch of her territory, and we have no inquisitiveness about her, because we know her so well. She has the same ideals as ourselves, and has crystallized them into law for justice, order and liberty the same as ourselves. We have no other feeling than one of friendship and interest in their development in New Jersey on the south, in Connecticut on the east and in Canada on the north. It is singular how universal is this feeling among Americans that Canada, though separated by jurisdiction, is really a State of the American Union. (Applause.) Lord Rosebery, the finest orator in Great Britain, said once that if it had not been for the obstinacy of George III and the short-sightedness of Lord North, the United States and Canada would have both remained self-governing colonies of Great Britain, and the preponderance of population, wealth and power would have carried the Parliament House to New York and Buckingham Palace to Central Park.

Canada is developing her vast territories so rapidly and so wisely that it may be that in a few years the ultra-fashionables of New York who must be seen and known in London during the season will transfer their pilgrimage from London to Ottawa to find there the coveted association with Crown and Coronets.

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Macaulay, in a letter often quoted, written to the author of the "Life of Jefferson," predicted that when the United States had congested populations and hunger frequent in the land, there would be no protection whatever for the more prosperous citizen; his house would be invaded and his dinner appropriated by the more numerous and stronger. One of the great safety valves against congestion of population with us has been the government land comparatively free to the settler. Race suicide may be a danger for the future in cities, but on the farm the soil still produces great crops and the home lots of children. When the hive swarms, or has swarmed in the past, the sons married the daughters of neighboring farmers and then moved West to settle upon government lands, and in that way they have built up the great commonwealths of the West, the Northwest and the Pacific States. But government lands are now exhausted. Secretary Lane, in his eloquent report, says that there are in lands which can be irrigated room for fifty millions of people, but irrigated lands require more capital than the boy and his bride from the overpopulated farm possess. Canada, with the wisdom and foresight characteristic of great statesmanship, has developed her territory by continental railroads and by assistance from the government to every enterprise and every man of enterprise who would develop her resources and

add to the possibilities of her future. She has not been afraid of the genius for affairs or the ability to do, but has placed behind it all the help she could give. The result is that the wilderness in an incredible short space of time has become the future garden of the British Empire. Now the American farmer's boy and his bride cross the invisible line, settle upon Canada's free farms and aid in the development of Canadian prosperity.

An English statesman said to me, in view of this great immigration of hundreds of thousands, "I fear that they will carry with them prejudices against Canada and prejudices for the localities which they leave that may be dangerous to the future of the Dominion." But these American families in their new homes find the same laws protecting their property, the same laws safeguarding their lives, the same liberty of speech and action which they had in their old homes. The test of their loyalty to their neighbors has been found in this crisis of the Dominion. Among the regiments which have rushed to arms for the protection of the ideals of Canada, and of the British Empire, are found a proportionate number of these new immigrants to the Dominion. (Applause.)

About thirty years ago there was a great celebration which gathered the vast fleet of Great Britain in the Solent. I was a guest on a steamship used as a yacht where there was

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a distinguished company of Englishmen and Canadians, myself the only American. At the inevitable dinner, a toast to Canada was responded to by the representative of Canada, since dead, who embellished his speech by saying that Canada had more land, more square miles of territory, greater area and greater prospects than the United States. Then he got mad when I modestly responded in my turn that his statistics were all right but his territory mostly ice. (Great Laughter and Applause.) Canadian development of the last thirty years has shown that what we then thought was mostly ice were possible wheat fields and prospective granaries.

Sentiment controls largely in the affairs of nations and the relations of different nationalities, but in this practical age and the immensely practical times of the twentieth century, materialism more largely governs and rules. And yet sentiment is not dead when the crisis arises for its development into action. We who have French blood in our veins recall with pride and gratitude those early Canadian voyageurs, La Salle, Marquette, Hennepin and their compatriots, who explored the great rivers of the American continent from their sources to their mouths and mapped out the vast territory of North America and indicated its possibilities for settlement, population and empire. No explorers since in the Arctic or the Tropics met

dangers and overcame them with more courage, endurance and genius than did these early Canadian and French voyageurs. Three hundred years have not sapped the vitality or diminished the courage of that race, for to-day, led by their mothers, wives and sweethearts, every man in France is offering up his life for the ideals of his country. (Great Applause.)

We are prospering largely by the markets which we supply in the world from our farms and our factories. In normal times our foreign trade reaches the value of two thousand millions of dollars a year. These countries who thus trade with us and take our goods and pay to us their money include every nationality in Asia, in Europe, in Africa, in South America, Central America and North America. But of that two thousand millions of dollars of foreign trade to all these various countries, in all the continents and on the borders of the seven seas, nearly one hundred millions, more than half, are with Great Britain and Canada.

A citizen says, "Why this sentiment for English-speaking peoples?" We answer, "Language, traditions, literature, ideals." "But," he says, "I have learned English. I am acquiring American ideals. The literature of my country is being translated into your language." "Ah! but, my friend, all of your countries put together only trade with us to the extent of one hundred millions less than that part of the

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English-speaking peoples which is included within the British Isles and the Canadian domains.”

I go down to Wall Street, not for speculation, but to change my investments. When I enter the broker's office a man comes after me whom everyone surrounds and they leave me until he goes. When I go to the bank the president comes from his seclusion where he weaves his webs and welcomes with open arms into his parlor this same man. The same thing happens when I enter the counting room of the merchant, and the magnate of the counting room brushes aside the salesman while he greets this man. I say, in indignation, “Who is this royalty for whom I am always elbowed one side and made to wait?” And the answer comes from all of them, “He is our best customer.” So, my friends, we greet here today in the Prime Minister of Canada not only our best customer but our nearest neighbor and our devoted friend. (Tremendous Applause and Cheers.)

Christmas at Yale Sixty-Odd Years Ago and Now.

Written for The Yale Daily News Christmas Supplement 1915

You ask me for a statement of the difference between Christmas, in my time in college, and the present. It is impossible to think of Christmas now, without being impressed with world conditions. Christ preached and taught Peace on Earth and Good Will toward Men, and Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself. For the first time in the Christian era those precepts are almost universally violated. Eight-tenths of the professed Christians of the world are killing each other and destroying each other's homes, families and properties. The most destructive, as well as the most cruel and savage warfare of all time, is taking toll of lives every day.

We cannot help believing, in contemplating these ghastly conditions and the teachings of the Prince of Peace, that the present war is the result of a violation long continued of the fundamental principles of Christianity.

The coming Christmas, which will be here in a few days, emphasizes how each impresses so differently according to changed conditions those who participate in the celebration. In my time at Yale, from 1852 to 1856, the Puritan spirit was the dominant one. For many years

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before I entered college I sat under the preaching of a very conscientious, learned, and able old-school Presbyterian preacher. He improved the Sunday before Christmas in a sermon to demonstrate that making it a festival was a papal superstition, and that the best historical evidence proved that the event occurred in April and not in December. In my time, a great majority of the graduates entered the ministry of the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches.

Christmas was recognized by these denominations as a holiday in deference to general opinion, but rarely as a religious festival. I caught the true spirit of Puritanism in a famous evening I was privileged to spend at the home of ex-President Day, then a very old man. A discussion arose between him and the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher, a very brilliant man. President Day represented primitive Puritanism, while Mr. Beecher was one of the most up-to-date of clergymen. Against Mr. Beecher's eloquent presentation of the influence of great cathedrals, and splendid architecture in churches, and ceremonials, rich in everything which would please the eye and impress the imagination, President Day contended that the true spirit of the Bible was best found in a church modeled on that of the Pilgrim Fathers, plainly built of boards, its furniture benches and the pulpit, its uses pro-

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tection from the inclemency of the weather for the earnest Christian souls assembled, whose sole object was to have as little as possible between them personally and their God.

Now I think all Christian denominations dismiss controversy as to the historical accuracy of December 25 as the date of the birth of Christ, and join in universal and appropriate celebrations of the day.

In my time at Yale there were no telegraphs or telephones, and transportation facilities very poor compared with the present. A considerable percentage of the students were from the South. The result was that most of the students were unable to go home, and remained during the Christmas holidays in New Haven, so that home, now universally associated in the student's mind with Christmas, was not then closely related to the day. Then, New Year's, and not Christmas, was the day of interchange of visits, of general calling, festivities and gifts.

All this is happily changed, an old timer will recall many things connected with his student days, which have gone out of fashion, and which he thinks ought to be remembered, and that the things which have replaced them are not worthy substitutes, but certainly Christmas is far more enjoyable for the student of today.

From 1852 to 1856 was rapidly increasing in intensity the anti-slavery sentiment in the country. It pervaded the colleges and made

slavery the paramount subject in the great debating societies. The anti-slavery orators, among them Wendell Phillips, the most finished and eloquent of his time, had the attendance of the whole student body when he spoke in New Haven. On Thanksgiving Day, when the minister was privileged to preach what he thought on secular matters, we all attended Central Church to hear the Rev. Dr. Bacon thunder mightily against slavery as the sum of all villainies.

The resemblance between then and now is that the present war, its causes, its rightfulness, its wrongfulness and its probable results absorbs the student mind to the exclusion of most other public questions, but unhappily there are no great debating societies like Linonia and Brothers of Unity as of old, where these questions could be thrashed out as they were in my day, between those who believed slavery should be abolished and those, especially from the South, though there were many from the North, who believed that the institution was sanctioned by the Bible, entrenched in the Constitution, and could not be touched except by a dissolution of the Union.

Fine debaters and public speakers, many of whom have since won national reputations in the pulpit, at the bar, in Congress and the Legislature, were trained by these debates in those great societies.

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Nobody believed then that the threats of disunion would materialize. Nobody believed that Civil War was possible. We graduated in '56 and the Civil War began in '61. Most of the men who graduated during those periods served in the armies; the students from the South with hardly an exception became Confederate soldiers and a large majority of those from the North entered and served in the Union army. The majority of them were killed. I knew nearly all of them on both sides, and a more gallant, devoted, self-sacrificing, and in its highest sense, patriotic body of young men never lived. The Civil War lasted four years; it cost 500,000 lives; six billions of dollars, and the devastation of large sections of the country. It would have ended in two years, with infinitely less sacrifice of life and treasure, if the Government had been prepared to maintain its sovereignty. The slave-holding element, knowing that they were to precipitate a war were prepared. Though in the overwhelming minority as to men and resources this preparedness enabled them to prolong the conflict until they were exhausted. The capture of Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston was the first argument which convinced the Government, and those who believed in the perpetuation of the American Union, that a war was possible. Even this reminder succeeded in calling forth from the Pacificists of that day a cry that our

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erring sisters should be permitted to depart in peace. Had they been listened to, there would have been two and, probably, with the sloughing off of the Pacific States, three North American republics instead of this wonderful unity, the United States of America.

One of the great difficulties after the Government had finally secured arms and powder and equipment was the lack of officers. The most hopeless mob in the world is a fresh regiment with untrained officers facing an organized army. This was developed at Bull Run, where the bravest ran because there was no one to tell them what to do, and where to go. If the Confederates led by West Pointers had comprehended the situation, they would have captured the Capitol with the President, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, and Congress.

Without discussing the dangers of war, it is well to remember that those dangers are always present, and always will be until human nature in individuals and in nations is so changed by the spirit of Christmas, and Christmas is so embedded in the souls, the hearts and the minds of the men and women of the world, that their universal thought and practice will be Peace on Earth and Good Will towards Men and Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself. Wars come always suddenly and unexpectedly. A note from the Austrian Emperor to the Servian Government, involving apparently only Austria-Hungary and

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Little Serbia, has led to a war which is now raging on all the continents and seas of the world, and among peoples of every race and nationality, from the highest civilized to the most barbarous and savage. The one wise event of this Christmas at Yale is the formation of batteries for the training of students to be officers if war occurs. The training itself is an admirable supplement to the academic course. It teaches discipline, obedience, self-restraint, temperance and co-ordination of the mind and body, most useful even in peace. Preparation, sanely pursued, like the police and the fire departments in civil life, does not provoke but prevents war, and promotes peace.

Speech at the Dinner Given by the Republican
Club of the City of New York, in Honor
of its President, Mr. James R. Sheffield,
January 6, 1916.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

This celebration in honor of our President, who has done so much for the Club, is a merited tribute to one of the best executives our Club has ever had. I speak with knowledge and experience, having been a president for two terms. I occupied the chair in the transition period between poverty and prosperity. When I was elected after the congratulations and festivities, a serious-minded committee said to me: "You have been chosen to save the Club from bankruptcy." It was not a hilarious prospect, but the committee and I set to work to enlarge the membership and get the funds to build a home. Our trouble was the budget. The budget would show a deficiency which could not be made up by a war tax in time of peace or an income tax never required before. Those methods of democratic finance were not then known. Much has been written about the loss of influence by the orator because of the universality of the press. I had convincing proof that this is not true. I persuaded a young

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millionaire and large real estate owner that the gratification of political ambition furnished more happiness and distinction than increasing wealth and enlarging income. To have behind him a vigorous young Club like ours might push him upward and onward indefinitely. So he agreed on lots he owned on Fifth Avenue to erect a twelve-story clubhouse upon our plans and to furnish it completely and to lease it to the Club for twenty-one years with three renewals. With the rentals of the rooms and the increased membership because of this brilliant location we saw the future of the Club assured. It was submitted to a large meeting. A young member arose and in a speech of great fervor and eloquence said that he could not in self-respect, belong to a Club which did not own its own home and was, in a way, the recipient of the bounty or generosity of a multi-millionaire. The speech swept the meeting off its feet and the offer was rejected. The President, Louis Stern, whose optimism, persuasiveness and business ability could not be resisted, secured for the Club this beautiful home and launched it upon a career of increasing prosperity.

We are gathered here so near the first day of the year that we can indulge in New Year's resolutions, prospects and hopes. We are the liveliest and most aggressive Republican Political Organization in this city and rival any in the country. Our Party is beginning with the year

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the Presidential Campaign. In less than six months our candidate and principles will be before the people. Our first duty is for all Republicans to get together. Abraham Lincoln in a famous political address, advising all the opponents of the Democratic Party to act in harmony, said Buchanan was a minority candidate and that the vote for Fremont and Filmore which was the vote against the Democratic Party represented a majority of four hundred thousand. History repeats itself. Mr. Wilson is a minority President and the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt gives a majority of a million. The party lives and succeeds on a few great principles. The party is made up of multitudes of men who disagree on many minor matters, but come together to secure in legislation things which they believe vital for the present and future.

I have been attending Presidential Conventions commencing with the second nomination of Lincoln in 1864. Everyone of them was noted for reciprocal enthusiasm among the delegates on the floor and spectators in the galleries, but the Convention of 1912 had bitterness on the floor and coldness in the crowd. I noted the delegations from two States separated only by the aisle. Across that aisle they were fiercely abusing each other. One said if Taft was nominated they would not vote for him, the other replied, if Roosevelt was nom-

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inated they would not vote for him. This spirit meant defeat and everybody knew it. These two sides preferred Democratic success in the Presidency and in Congress to Republican measures and policies in which they all believed under a rival candidate for the Presidency.

Men die, parties live. The Republican Party has had great leaders with whom it has won great victories and in possession of the Government has enacted laws which have advanced the country in peace, prosperity and happiness. We have great leaders still, of whom the chief, Senator Root, presides here tonight. Lincoln, Grant, Garfield and McKinley are dead. The Republican Party lives and has a mission as important as it ever had with either of them. So let us highly resolve that all who believe in the fundamental principles of Republicanism will rally behind the candidates and platform of 1916. We enter this canvass with the most hopeful prospects. The majority of a million of four years ago of the American people who were then for Republican candidates and Republican principles still exist. It is interesting to inquire what promises and their fulfilment would induce any man who voted against Mr. Wilson in 1912 to vote for him for another four years in 1916. The Democratic Party found as always when they succeed Republican administrations a surplus in the treasury and created a deficit. They have found it necessary

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because of their extravagance and inaptitude in government to impose war taxes in time of peace and enact an income tax because of an emergency created by themselves. With importations greater than ever before revenues decreased. This war gave us a prohibitive tariff. It called upon our manufacturers to furnish war munitions of unprecedented volume and value. It gave us the opportunity to enter the markets of neutral nations to furnish things required by them which had heretofore been supplied by the belligerents. We are living in and enjoying this factitious prosperity. Let peace come which we all fervently desire and the Democratic Party be still in possession of the Government, their theories put in practice even only to the extent of the present Wilson-Underwood Tariff will make the United States the dumping ground of Europe with results more disastrous than those which threw millions out of employment and ruined other millions and led to the election of McKinley and the rescue of the people.

There are a million or more young voters who will cast their ballot for a President for the first time in 1916. All of us can recall how seriously we regarded our first vote for President and how thoughtfully we cast it. That first vote has in it a large measure of imagination. The young voter looks with a world vision upon the position of his country. With this terrible war

ever before him, he is intensely interested in the activities and position of his own government. He sees with horror American men, women and children killed upon the high seas, or in our own bordering State of Mexico. He is alert and informed as never before, to the honor and dignity of our government and the safety of our citizens. What of enthusiasm for him is there in the volumes of correspondence, some of which has been answered, some of which has been evaded, some of which has received a promise, never to do it again, with the thing done again in a short time and then another letter that this was a mistake for which the commander would be punished without saying how and then a repetition with another letter saying the matter would be looked into as soon as other and most pressing things could be laid aside.

A hundred thousand Americans were lawfully in Mexico under treaties and international law. They were active in the development of that country, the promotion of American trade, making markets for our products and had invested over a thousand millions of dollars. The present administration said to Huerta, who was duly elected president under the Mexican constitution, and had the only semblance of government existing, "You must get out." The Navy was sent to the Mexican coast and the Army to Vera Cruz, arms and munitions were rushed across the border for the bandit

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chiefs to buy and President Huerta was driven out. Then came "watchful waiting" with Villa, Carranza, Zapata and other bandit chiefs preying upon this unhappy people, their own countrymen, and upon Americans and the citizens or subjects of other European nations. The young American voter with imagination is also fresh from his studies of history. He has been thrilled with the story of the ancient Romans who made the phrase, "I am a Roman citizen," the shield and protection of every Roman all over the world. Every foreign nation knew that to take the life or seize the property of that Roman was to have Rome with her legions and her eagles crossing their borders for his protection. The Apostle Paul, standing before the Roman Governor of Judea, was about to be scourged and sent to prison as an ordinary malefactor, but when Paul proudly told the Court, "I am a Roman citizen," he had his choice to be discharged or sent to Rome, which he greatly desired, at the public expense.

He proudly recalls that in 1848 Martin Koszta, a Hungarian revolutionist, who had taken out his first papers with the purpose of becoming an American citizen, was seized by the Austrian Consul at Smyrna and put on an Austrian warship, but by that threat to attack the Austrian, the Commander of the American warship "St. Louis" took Koszta from the Austrian and returned him to the United States.

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William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, answered the protest of the Austrian government sustaining the Commander of the "St. Louis" and asserting that "the United States will protect any individual clothed with our national character."

There was no war.

Our present policy would have declared that this partially naturalized citizen had no right to go to Turkey, no matter what his business, and disavowed the patriotic action of the Commander of the "St. Louis," because it might involve the United States in war, and that to endanger many citizens to protect one was not the function of the United States.

President Harrison assumed the same risk when he forced Chili to make amends for the killing of American sailors.

No war followed.

Secretary Seward assumed the same risk when he warned the French under Louis Napoleon out of Mexico to maintain the Monroe Doctrine. The French army left, the Republic was restored and maintained law and order for nearly fifty years.

There was no war.

An earlier Administration gladly took the same risk when our fleet bombarded Tripoli and sent the palace of the Bey crumbling about his ears to rescue American citizens held in bond-

age. Our sailors were released, our ships freed from future capture.

And there was no war.

President Cleveland took the same risk when he demanded from Great Britain the arbitration of her disputed boundary with Venezuela. Great Britain yielded, the boundary was arbitrated.

And there was no war.

In June, 1904, Pericaris, an American citizen, was seized by Raisuli, a Moroccan bandit, and held for ransom. Raisuli threatened to kill him unless the ransom was paid immediately. Secretary of State John Hay cabled, June 22d, to the American Consul at Tangier this message, which thrilled the world, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." The next day Perdicaris was released.

And there was no war.

But when American citizens in Mexico shout so that it is heard in Washington, "We are American citizens, we are rightfully here, we have been here for years and have created homes and accumulated property, our lives and that of our families and our possessions are threatened, we are American citizens," the answer was from Washington, "Let your property go, and we'll give you tickets to the United States and take your note to pay for them with the promise to do so as soon as you can find employment and earnings somewhere in your country." The

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result of this policy has been one bandit succeeding another in Mexico—murder, rape, robbery, anarchy, the ruthless massacre of American citizens and chaos.

When a powerful nation is right and asserts its rights the enemy admits its error, the public opinion of the world applauds.

And there is no war.

There is the American flag, it has meant the Power, the Greatness, the Freedom and the Protection of the American citizen since the War of the Revolution. Its Power and its Prestige have increased with the years. The young voter believes in that flag, and believing in it, he will vote for the party of Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

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